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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The True Irishman: Varieties of Irish Cultural Identity in Old Ontario

by

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Judy Larmour

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF Master of Arts

Department of History

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
Spring 1986

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The True Irishman: Varieties of Irish Cultural Identity in Old Ontario submitted by Judy Larmour in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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Date 14th March, 1986

Abstract

By 1871 the Irish-born and their descendants comprised one-third of the population of Old Ontario. The historiography of the Irish does not, however, reflect their importance in the evolution of Upper Canada. The stereotyping of both the Protestant and Catholic Irish, perpetuated by a simplistic perception of Irish history, has remained all pervasive. Although recent studies have been revisionist in their conclusions about the settlement, work and behaviour patterns of the Irish in Canada, little attention has been paid to the cultural traditions and ideological responses which constituted their sense of Irish identity.

This study is an interpretive synthesis of Irish identity in Old Ontario. That identity is interpreted broadly, in terms of the cultural nuances and outlook of both Irish Protestants and Catholics. Class and religion are seen to be the main factors affecting the patterns of thought manifested by the immigrant Irish. How they saw themselves in Canada, their continuing identification with Ireland, and their relationships with other Irish people are presented as being crucial to an understanding of Irish cultural transfer.

The Irish cultural spectrum cannot be presented as a mere Protestant - Catholic dichotomy but rather as a complex pattern of social, religious and political variables involving three distinct groups and cultural traditions.

Although the Anglo-Irish gentry represented an Irish liberal Whig tradition while the northern Protestants embodied an Irish conservative tradition, these two groups had a common bond in their evangelical Protestantism. The collective identity of Irish Catholics was reinforced by the anti-Catholicism of Irish evangelical Protestants and the Orange Order. Irish Catholics adopted the symbolism and rhetoric of the Irish liberal tradition, looking to the past and to Ireland, as the source of unity among the Irish in the new world.

The differences among the Irish are delineated; cultural interactions among these groups are examined. While these were often characterised by sectarian violence, a clearly articulated ideal of Irish unity also emerged. These contradictions form the central theme of this study.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. David Mills for his conscientious, thorough and patient supervision of this thesis. His organisational skills, in particular, were invaluable in lending clarity to the material. I have benefited greatly from his readiness to exchange and debate ideas.

I am grateful to the various people at archives and libraries, both in Canada and Ireland, who drew my attention to items which I might otherwise have overlooked. I would also like to thank Linda Johnson of Inter-Library Loan Service at the University of Alberta who went out of her way to be helpful.

My most heartfelt thanks go to Doris Bergen who not only spent innumerable hours at the keyboard, but also made pertinent criticisms of earlier drafts of the thesis. The completion of this project was in no small measure ensured through the supportive energy of her friendship.

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I. INTRODUCTION

> Immigrant groups are more readily apparent when they resist absorption, or are resisted, than when they slip quietly into their new societies. But the fact that a phenomenon is more quickly perceived does not necessarily mean that it is historically more significant.[1]

By 1871 the Irish-born and their descendants constituted one-third of the total population of Old Ontario. For every one Irish Catholic, there were two Irish Protestants.[2] The historiography of both these groups, however, presents an anomaly: the cultural traditions and ideological responses of the Irish have been largely ignored. A lack of awareness or consideration of the varieties of Irish antecedent cultural traditions is one of the main flaws in Canadian understanding of the Irish. It is a fault which has consequently distorted the overall picture of the evolving society in Upper Canada of which the Irish formed an integral part.

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[1] O. MacDonagh, ed., Emigration in the Victorian Age. Debates on the Issue from Nineteenth Century Journals (Hants, England,1973),3.

[2] For a discussion of the Irish profile in Canadian population figures, see D.H. Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish," Canadian Papers in Rural History 3, ed. D.H. Akenson (Gananoque, Ont.,1982),204-56; C.J. Houston and W.J. Smyth, "The Irish Abroad: Better Questions through a Better Source, the Canadian Census," Irish Geography 13 (1980):1-19.

This study is an interpretive synthesis of Irish identity in Old Ontario.[3] It is therefore a discussion of cultural transfer and adaptation in the new world. An Irish identity is interpreted broadly in terms of the cultural nuances and outlook within and between the two distinct Irish groups, Protestant and Catholic, who immigrated to Upper Canada prior to Confederation. The objective is to delineate their social, political and religious differences and divisions. It is argued that the collective identity of Irish Catholics was profoundly affected by the anti-Catholicism of Irish evangelical Protestants and the Orange Order. The dissensions which existed among the Irish ran parallel to a shared Irish patriotism, and a non-sectarian ideal of unity which was alleged to be held by true Irishmen. Thus a contradiction existed between the image the Irish held of themselves and the reality of their situation in Upper Canada. That contradiction was expressed in the myth of Irish unity.[4]

The Irish experience in Old Ontario was a varied one, determined by the timing of immigration. It was coloured by the cultural and class background of past experience in Ireland which affected expectations, attitudes and relationships in the new world. As John Mannion has written:

> The question of cultural transfer and adaptation...is endlessly complex, as almost every

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[3] This term is used interchangeably with Upper Canada and Canada West.

[4] The term myth is used in both senses of the concept: as a false representation of reality, and as a reinterpretation of the past to serve the purposes of the present.

> variable associated with the Atlantic migrations may be of relevance. Partly because of this complexity, students of cultural transfer all too often have fallen back on simplistic deterministic interpretations.[5]

Generalisations presented by Canadian historians have led to misleading and unproven assumptions about the Irish, both in relation to their Irish background[6] and their settlement, work and behavioural patterns in the province. H. Clare Pentland described the Irish Catholic as "a primitive man, half a tribesman still."[7] Kenneth Duncan has argued that the Catholic Irish showed a preference for urban living;[8] Michael Cross has characterised the violent behaviour of Irishmen in the Ottawa Valley as conditioned by a society in Ireland which bordered on anarchy.[9] Some recent studies have been revisionist or particularist in approach. An investigation of the 1871 census by A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein indicates that farming was the most common occupation among the Irish.[10] Ruth Bleasdale, in her study of class conflict on the canals during the 1840s, portrays the behaviour of Irish Catholic labourers as a rational response to economic conditions.[11] There is, however, an acceptance of a simplistic division: Roman Catholic is synonymous with Irish;[12] but the Protestant is identified more in terms of Orangeism than Irishness.[13] The complexity of Irish ethnicity, in relation to the historical evolution of Old Ontario, has, however, for the most part simply been overlooked.

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[5] J.J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Canada. A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation (Toronto, 1974), 13.

[6] The long accepted image of universal deplorable economic and social conditions in pre-famine Ireland has been severely modified. See L.M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (London, 1972); J.S. Donnelly, The Land and People of Nineteenth Century Cork. The Rural Economy and the Land Question (London, 1975).

[7] H. Clare Pentland, Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860, ed. Paul Philips (Toronto, 1981), 105. See D.H. Akenson, Being Had. Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America, (Port Credit, Ont., 1985) for a denunciation of Pentland's work.

[8] Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 2, No. 1 (Feb. 1965): 19-40.

[9] Michael Cross, "The Shiners' War: Social Violence in the Ottawa Valley in the 1830's," Canadian Historical Review 54 (March 1973): 1-26.

[10] A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Ethnicity and

An incisive criticism of this tendency has come from Donald H. Akenson, who has written extensively on the Irish in Ireland and in North America. Akenson analysed the state of research on the Irish and was critical of misapprehensions and floating terminology in relation to the Irish. He set out several clarifications and suggested directions for future research based on his own examination of the Canadian census data.[14]

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[10] (cont'd) Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871. The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective," Canadian Historical Review 61,No.3(1980):305-333.

[11] R. Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840's," Labour/Le Travailleur 7(Spring,1982):9-39.

[12] See for example Murray W. Nicholson, "The Irish Catholics and Social Action in Toronto,1850-1900," Studies in History and Politics/Etudes d'Histoire et de Politique 1(Fall,1980):30-54.

[13] See H. Senior, "The Genesis of Canadian Orangeism," in Historical Essays on Upper Canada, ed. J.K. Johnson (Toronto,1975),241-261, and Orangeism: The Canadian Phase (Toronto,1972); C. Houston and W.J. Smyth, The Orange Order in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Study in Institutional Cultural Transfer (Toronto,1977), and The Sash Canada Wore. A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada (Toronto,1980).

[14] Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened,"204-56.

Several specific points which have a direct bearing on the present study emerge from Akenson's work. Figures based on the 1842 census indicate that prior to the famine immigration the proportion of Protestants to Catholics in the Irish immigrant population was 2:1.[15] The 1871 census reveals that the Catholic proportion remained constant, thus indicating that continuing large-scale Protestant immigration was also a post-famine phenomenon.[16] Akenson delineates the consequent chronological complexity of relationships within the Irish ethnic community and points out that the 1840s were a watershed. Historians must not only be aware of the attitudes which pre-famine Protestants and Catholics held towards each other, but they must also understand the views of both of these groups towards the post-famine Irish.[17]

In 1984 Akenson answered his own call for rural micro-studies as the most appropriate method of studying the Irish. His monograph, The Irish in Ontario. A Study in Rural History,[18] deals with the settlement of the Irish, both Protestant and Catholic, in Leeds and Landsdowne townships.[19] He maintains that, by 1871, both Irish Protestants and Catholics were predominantly rural. In contrast to the traditional view, most Catholics were not city dwellers; they were urbanized in the same proportions as other groups in the general population.[20] The evidence, Akenson maintains, indicates that Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics resembled each other more than anybody else; moreover,

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[15] Ibid., 221.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.,221-22.
[18] D.H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario. A Study in Rural History (Kingston,1984).
[19] These two townships were, from 1800, within Leeds county in the Johnston District.

> the Irish Catholic migrant to the New World was much quicker, more technologically adaptive, more economically alert, and much less circumscribed by putative cultural limits inherited from the Old Country than is usually believed.[21]

Akenson is critical of the emphasis upon the cultural differences between the Protestant and Catholic Irish made by historians of Ireland:

> ...reification of culture is endemic to Irish historical writing; that is culture (and its Irish sub-components, Irish Catholic culture and the two Protestant variants, Anglo-Irish culture and Ulster Scots culture) is treated as something that has a life of its own, which is a direct cause of events, and which is itself mysteriously independent of the other aspects of life.[22]

The present study, in contrast to Akenson's approach, is based on the premise that a cultural framework is of critical importance to a proper understanding of the Irish in Ontario. If Irish historical writing can be said to err on the side of cultural determinism and historicity, then the opposite can be argued of Canadian historical writing on the Irish in Canada. A "cultural approach" to the Irish need not necessarily be characterised by a narrow or simplistic determinism. The present study intends to focus on patterns of thought, rather than on patterns of behavior, in relation to Irish identity in order to understand the Irish cultural framework in Old Ontario. In the words of Patrick Gardiner:

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[20] Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened",231-36.

[21] Akenson, The Irish in Ontario,353. This argument stands in direct contradiction to the view presented of the Irish in North America by Kerby Miller *et al*, who have argued that:..."many Catholic Irish were more communal, dependent, fatalistic and... prone to accept conditions passively than were the Protestants they encountered in either Ireland or America; and less individualistic, independent, optimistic and given to initiative than were those Protestants." K. Miller with B. Boling and D.N. Doyle, "Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures and Irish Emigration to North America,1790-1922," *Irish Historical Studies* 22 No.86.(Sept.1980)105.

[22] Ibid.,352.

> Interpreting what men do is ... a matter of eliciting the processes of thought that inform their perceivable behaviour and are intrinsic to its correct identification and description.[23]

Yet the attribution of a sense of identity is incomplete or inadequate if it is based only on assumptions made from the visible, or quantitive, conditions and behaviour of the immigrant. Identity comes from within; it is self-defined, it draws from the world in which it was formed, and is frequently expressed in terms of a reaction to discordant elements in those surroundings or in new ones. How the Irish saw themselves in Canada, no less than the extent and ways in which they identified with Ireland, must also be central to the discussion.

The idea of 'identity' has confusing connotations as it is generally used in conjunction with terms such as 'ethnic' or 'national'. It is imperative to recognise the mixed origins of the Irish people (Gaelic, Norman, English, Scottish, Huguenot and Palatine) and to distinguish between the cultural as opposed to political usage of the concepts nation, nationality and nationalism.[24] Political nationalism can be seen as a further development of the cultural nationalism of a people or nation. It should not, however, be confused with patriotism. The Irish cannot be seen as an indivisible race, nor as one nation, although they shared a common ethnicity in that Ireland was their native land.

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[23] P. Gardiner, ed., The Philosophy of History (Oxford, 1974), 5.

In this context several points of explanation need to be made in relation to the cultural background of the Protestant Irish in Old Ontario. In Ireland, the Protestants were divided into two general groups: the Anglo-Irish (of English planter origin) who were predominantly Anglican, and the Ulster-Scots (lowland Scot settlers) who were largely Presbyterian. Their ascendancy was based on the ownership of land and the spoils of political office.[25] The Protestant population comprised a minority, but a minority which was unevenly distributed; the largest proportion was concentrated in the northern counties. It was also a minority which cut across all strata of a complex society, from the huge land owners of the British and Irish peerage through the minor gentry, to the tenant farmer and cottier; in addition it included an urban mercantile interest.[26]

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[24] The distinctions made by John Plamenatz lend a useful framework for the purposes of this study. "Nationalism ... is the desire to preserve or enhance a people's national or cultural identity when that identity is threatened, or the desire to transform or even create it where it is felt to be inadequate or lacking. I say national or cultural, for what distinguishes a people from other peoples in their own eyes consists of ways of thinking, feeling and behaving which are, or which they believe to be peculiar to them." J. Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism," in Nationalism. The Nature and Evolution of an Idea, ed. E. Kamenka (Canberra,1973),23-24. The concept that the Irish were divided into two nations was prevalent by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[25] See for example J.C. Beckett, The Anglo-Irish Tradition (Ithaca,1976).

Irish Protestant culture in Old Ontario must also be understood in terms of class as well as religion. There were two significant groups: first the the Anglo-Irish gentry; and second the small farmers, urban tradesmen and labourers of northern Ireland.[27] These groups, while clearly distinguishable, were not mutually exclusive. Some members of the gentry came from an Ulster-Scots background, and not all southern Irish Protestants were of the gentry class. It was a spectrum of attitudes which delineated and distinguished Irish Protestants; these attitudes were rooted in the complexities of eighteenth century Irish history.

The Anglo-Irish liberal tradition found its expression in the Irish parliament established in 1782. It represented an elite group who believed that the interests of Ireland were best served through the leadership of the resident Irish gentry.[28] The debate in 1800 surrounding the dissolution of this parliament and the Bill of Union between Great Britain and Ireland revealed a sharp division between liberal and conservative opinion. The sectarian violence of the 1790s between rural Protestants and Catholics, especially in the northern counties, had cemented a conservative anti-Catholic viewpoint among lower class Protestants. Many of them became members of the Orange Order subsequent to the Union. This ideological division between the liberal and conservative traditions was evident in the Whig and Tory alignments in electoral politics into the 1820s.[29] The principle of Catholic Emancipation also became a further issue of contention in the early nineteenth century. It was only during the 1830s that Irish Protestants began to forge a more united front against the encroachment of the Catholic nation upon their ascendancy.

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[26] For a comprehensive profile of the Irish Protestant community in southern Ireland see Ian d'Alton, Protestant Society and Politics in Cork, 1812-1844, (Cork, 1980). D'Alton points out that during the 1820s the differences between rural landed Protestantism and its urban mercantile counterpart were more real than the Protestant-Catholic division, p.31.

[27] A preponderance of Irish Protestant immigrants to Upper Canada came from the northern half of Ireland. Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever happened," 219. It was the northeast part of Ulster which had the highest numbers of Presbyterians. It would therefore seem that the most accurate description is "northern Irish", taken to include Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists.

[28] For the views of one liberal Irish Protestant, see H.D. Gribbon, "Thomas Newenham, 1762-1831," Irish Population,

This study, in the interests of clarity, links the Anglo-Irish gentry with a liberal, Whig tradition, and the northern Irish with a conservative, Tory outlook. This is not to say that there were no Tories among the Anglo-Irish gentry, nor does it overlook Irish gentry membership in the Orange Order. Not all lower class Protestants, moreover, belonged to the Orange Order. This thesis identifies patterns of Irish Protestant thought which were transferred to Old Ontario.

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[28] (cont'd) Economy, and Society. Essays in Honour of the Late K.H. Connell, J.M. Goldstrom and L.A. Clarkson, eds. (Oxford, 1981), 231-47.
[29] D'Alton, Protestant Society, chapter 4.

Irish Catholics are presented as adhering to a single cultural tradition of which Catholicism was the fundamental component. This provides the basis for understanding the interaction between Irish cultural traditions, Protestant and Catholic. That interaction is presented as being characterised both by sectarian violence, and also by a clearly articulated ideal of Irish unity. The ideological responses of the Irish Catholic community were shaped by its defensive Catholicism. At the same time, Irish Catholics adopted the rhetoric and symbolism of the Irish Protestant liberal tradition in the promotion of unity among Irishmen. Irish Catholics, to an even greater extent than Protestant Irish liberals, viewed unity as the means to successful integration as Canadians.

The earliest Irish immigrants to Upper Canada, unlike their countrymen in the United States, came to an as yet unformed society. After the War of 1812, however, the Tory elite soon entrenched its position in the colony through land speculation and local government patronage.[30] For the incoming Irish, adaptation to and acceptance in this nascent society was an integrative process. The approbation of the

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[30] See R.E. Saunders, "What Was the Family Compact?" in Historical Essays on Upper Canada, 122-139. Also useful is Terry Cook, "John Beverley Robinson and the Conservative Blueprint for the Upper Canadian Community," Historical Essays on Upper Canada, 338-360. For a wider perspective on the Tory ethos see the work of S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario, ed. Ontario Historical Society (Toronto, 1967):20-33; and "Colonial Attitudes from the Era of the War of 1812 to the Rebellions of 1837," Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth Century Political Attitudes, ed. S.F. Wise and R.C. Brown (Seattle, 1967), 16-43.

Tories had to be earned. Loyalty was the yardstick by which eligibility for recognition was measured. The demonstration of loyalty, respectability, and economic enterprise by new immigrants was, as a cumulative process, rewarded with political and social acceptance.[31] Upper Canada was a society in which all Irish immigrants, the Anglo-Irish gentry, northern Protestants, and Catholics, had to win their place.

Any discussion of the Irish immigrant experience in Old Ontario necessarily addresses the phenomenon of stereotypy.[32] In Old Ontario the image held of the Irish, and indeed articulated by the Irish themselves, had many of the elements of the British stereotype of the Irish in general, and the Catholic 'native peasantry' in particular. Religious and class prejudices, and economic tensions, heightened the British belief in the irreconcilable differences between the Anglo-Saxon (British) and Celtic (Irish) temperaments. British ethnocentrism varied from paternalism to hostile racism.[33] In Upper Canada, however, the British stereotype of the Irish did not reflect the attitude of the coloniser toward the colonised, but rather it pertained to inter-group dynamics in a new society. The Irish were, arguably, as responsible for the perpetuation of the stereotyping of themselves as anyone else.

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[31] See David Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty in Upper Canada,1815-1850," PhD Thesis, Carleton University,1982.

[32] The process by which an individual creates a stereotyped mind construct is called stereotypy; its probable outcome is stereotyped attitudes or behaviour. A further distinction can be made between stereotypes held by groups by means of the label social or cultural to denote group consensus of belief. See R.D. Ashmore and F.K. Del Boca, "Conceptual Approaches to Stereotypes and Stereotyping," in Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behaviour, ed. D.L. Hamilton (Hillsdale,1981),16-19; R.A. Stewart, G.E. Powell, S.J. Chetwynd, Person Perception and Stereotyping (Farnborough,1979). Perjorative use of cultural stereotypes was the norm in Old Ontario.

[33] The classic study is to be found in L.P. Curtis Jr., Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in

The stereotyped portrait of the Irish which emerges from contemporary accounts had certain repeatedly stressed characteristics: a 'wild' or 'ragged' appearance; a brogue and extravagant mannerisms of speech; dirty living conditions; a simplistic approach to life; dishonesty and drunkenness. The most commonly voiced criticism was the Irish inclination to violence. Along with such generalisations there emerged contrasting and more specific depictions of the Irish. The northern Irish were Protestants, and thus hardworking, thrifty, sober and enterprising individuals in comparison to the southern or 'native' Roman Catholic Irish, who as a group were indigent, idle, lazy, unskilled and superstitious, with no desire to improve their position.

Contemporary comment as to the inclinations of the Irish as agricultural settlers conformed to the stereotyped distinction between Protestants and Catholics. Protestants,

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[33](cont'd) Victorian England (Bridgeport, Conn.,1968). Also by Curtis, Apes and Angels. The Irishman in Victorian Caricature (Washington,1971). Both these studies deal with the later part of the nineteenth century. For a chronologically more suitable and analytic treatment see R.N. Lebow, White Britain and Black Ireland. The Influence of Stereotypes on Colonial Policy. (Philadelphia,1976). See also R.N. Lebow, "British Images of Poverty in Pre-Famine Ireland," Views of the Irish Peasantry,1800-1916, ed. D.J. Casey and A.E. Rhodes (Hamden, Conn.1977),57-85.

it was observed, "always aim at settling as soon as possible on land of their own,"[34] while among Catholics, "transient labour ...[and] employment on the public works, seems more congenial to their habits than working a wood farm on their own account."[35] In Upper Canada the mark of a suitable immigrant was independence. Everyman, it was argued, through individual effort and perseverance could improve his condition.[36]

The comparison between the two stereotyped Irish cultural groups was heightened during the late 1840s and into the 1850s. The effects of the Irish famine immigration accelerated the shortage of land and consequently urban growth. An urban proletariat was forming in Canada West and a disproportionate number of those in the lowest economic stratum were Irish; they were also predominantly Roman Catholic. Social problems which arose were consequently perceived to be the special preserve of that group. Intemperance and its consequences, crime and poverty, were perceived as the cause rather than the result of lamentable social conditions.[37] If incidences of immorality or prolonged destitution were due to human failings or weakness, then it followed that the Irish character had inherent flaws. Such views helped to obscure social reality and patterns of Irish settlement. The stereotypes of the Irish became cemented: northern Protestant and rural; southern Catholic and urban. Moreover, as the Catholic Irish community expanded and consolidated during the 1850s and 1860s, it projected an exclusive identity: to be a good Catholic was to be a good Irishman. By Confederation Irish had become synonymous with Catholic in the mainstream Protestant mind of Old Ontario; it subsequently remained so in the minds of Canadian historians.

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[34] J. Godley, Letters from America (1844)1:251, J.R. Burnet, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada, (Toronto,1972), quoted on p.46.

[35] J. McGregor, British North America Vol.2 (Edinburgh,1833), 54, Burnet, Ethnic Groups, quoted on p.24.

[36] See R.D. Wolfe, "The Myth of the Poor Man's Country: Upper Canadian Attitudes to Immigration,1830-1837", M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1976; Peter A. Russell, "A Poor Man's Country: Some Statistical Evidence," Canadian Papers in Rural History, 3, ed. D.H. Akenson (Gananoque, Ont.,1982). Russell argues that "the figures for average land clearing seriously challenge the conventional view that the backwoods of Upper Canada could rapidly transform a pauper immigrant into a yeoman farmer," 37. Also useful is V.C. Fowke, "The Myth of the Self-Sufficient Canadian Pioneer," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd Series, 56 (1962):23-34.

The material for this study was gathered from a variety of sources: personal correspondence, private manuscripts, contemporary accounts, newspapers, and secondary materials. A sense of Irish identity has been culled from Irish attitudes towards Ireland, other Irish people, and perceptions of their own position in Canada. A distinction is drawn between individual and personal attitudes, and those which were the public domain of a group.

Throughout this study attention has been drawn, both directly and indirectly, to Irish history. This provides a background from which to recognise and identify elements of Irish cultural expression in Old Ontario. The Irish cultural dimension transferred to the province represented a wide spectrum of Irish society. It certainly cannot be characterised as a mere Protestant - Catholic dichotomy, but rather as a complex pattern of political, social and religious variables, among a people who, albeit with unease, shared Irish ethnicity.

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[37] See J.M. Clemens, "Taste Not; Touch Not; Handle Not: A Study of the Social Assumptions of Temperance Literature and Temperance Supporters in Canada West between 1839 and 1859," Ontario History 64 (Sept. 1972):142-160.

II. FROM CORK TO YORK: THE ANGLO-IRISH GENTRY IN UPPER CANADA

The Anglo-Irish gentry who immigrated to Upper Canada included individuals and families who had been thwarted in their aspirations in Ireland. They sought to better their position by escaping financial problems, frustrations and, in many cases, the growing insecurity they had encountered at home. As administrators, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, teachers, merchants and/or farmers, they settled in Old Ontario with relative ease compared to the majority of their countrymen. The Anglo-Irish gentry were linked by a network of kinship ties and Irish connections. Many of the individuals and families discussed in this chapter were known to each other. The ties of shared political outlook, business interests and social relationships seem to have been compounded by the proclivity of the Anglo-Irish to marry among themselves.

The Anglo-Irish gentry comprised only a small group among Irish Protestant immigrants. Their influence, however, was out of proportion to their numbers. This chapter gives an overview of aspects of settlement among this group and discusses two elements of the cultural framework which they transferred to Upper Canada. The first element was a social identity common to all members of the Anglo-Irish gentry. The second was a liberal political tradition which was manifested in an Irish dimension to the Reform movement in Upper Canada. These were underpinned by two themes: the importance of an Irish network in their social relations, and a continuing identification with Ireland in their ideological responses.

The Anglo-Irish as a group were the first among the Irish to establish themselves in Upper Canada. The appointment in 1792 of Peter Russell,[1] born in Cork, Ireland, as Receiver-General of Upper Canada under Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, marked the first link in a strong chain of Anglo-Irish immigration to the province. Russell wielded considerable power until his death in 1808. He had a seat on both the Legislative and Executive Councils; he was appointed a temporary puisne judge in 1794, and speaker of the Legislative Council in 1795. Russell finally was appointed administrator of the province in 1796 in the absence of Simcoe.[2] Peter Russell used his influence in the acquisition of land and dispensation of patronage in favour of the Anglo-Irish group which surrounded him.[3] In 1793 William Willcocks, his first cousin who was at that time Mayor of Cork City, received a grant of land totalling three hundred acres in the township of York.[4] Russell also used government patronage to bolster Willcocks' position once his relation was resident in the province. In 1796 Willcocks was appointed magistrate, and in 1797 he became the first Postmaster of York.[5]

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[1] See Edith G. Firth, "Russell, Peter," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 5(Toronto,1983),729-32.
[2] Firth, "Russell, Peter,"731.
[3] S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," in Profiles of a Province. Studies in the History of Ontario, ed. Ontario Historical Society (Toronto,1967),27.
[4] For an account of the relationship between Russell and William Willcocks (and subsequently the Baldwins) see A.S. Thompson, Spadina: A Story of Old Toronto (Toronto,1975),21-65.

In 1799, Robert Baldwin, also of the County of Cork, arrived in the province to farm. His oldest son William Warren, a medical doctor, studied law and was called to the bar in 1803. He secured the office of master in chancery and the position of acting clerk of the Crown and Court of King's Bench in 1806.[6] He married Phoebe, daughter of William Willcocks. William ~~Warren~~ Baldwin was at the centre of an Anglo-Irish social elite in Toronto. Both he and his son Robert played leading roles in the Reform movement. The Baldwin family was extended further in 1819 on the arrival of the Sullivan family.[7] In 1823 William Warren Baldwin had his nephew, Robert Baldwin Sullivan, placed on the books of the Law Society of Upper Canada and secured his appointment as librarian to the House of Assembly.[8] A pattern among the Anglo-Irish had been struck; it was to be perpetuated and broadened over the next several decades.

Ethnic patronage and influence, then, were important factors in the settlement of the Anglo-Irish. Many of them arrived with letters of introduction. James Howard, son of a silk manufacturer of Huguenot origin, from Bandon in the County of Cork, arrived in York in 1819 bearing a letter of introduction to Dr. William Warren Baldwin.[9] Others arrived with letters of recommendation from men of position and influence in Ireland. Joseph Standish, a farmer in Queen's County, obtained such a letter from William Wellesley Pole, MP for Queen's County and former Chief Secretary of Ireland, before setting out for Upper Canada. In 1819 Standish received a grant of 300 acres in Esquesing township.[10]

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[5] Ibid.,35,42. When his accounts were questioned in 1800 Willcocks resigned.

[6] Ibid.,55.

[7] William Warren Baldwin's sister, Barbara, was married to Daniel Sullivan, a merchant of Cork. Their son Daniel was a law student with Baldwin in York before the rest of the family emigrated.

[8] V.L. Russell, R.L. Fraser, and M. Cross, "Sullivan, Robert Baldwin," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 8(Toronto,1985),846.

There were several members of the Anglo-Irish gentry who were involved in the settlement of other immigrants. William Willcocks left Ireland in 1795 with a group of Irish settlers. His plans did not work out and his emigrants deserted him on arrival at New York.[11] Thomas Talbot[12] of Malahide Castle, Ireland, arrived in Canada in 1792 as private secretary to Governor Simcoe. In 1803 he obtained 5,000 acres in the then isolated townships of Dunwich and Aldborough of the London District as part of a system by which he was expected to select settlers and allocate land.[13] In order to retain control of his settlers until they had completed their settlment duties, Talbot withheld payment of grant, survey and patent fees owed to the government, which amounted to £4,000 by 1818. His aristocratic reign came to an end in 1838 when the settlement was turned over to the province.[14]

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[9] N.F. Davin, The Irishman in Canada (Toronto,1877),266-67.

[10] J.R. Houston, Numbering the Survivors: A History of the Standish Family of Ireland, Ontario and Alberta, ed. G. Hancocks (Agincourt, Ont.,1979),30-31,48.

[11] W.R. Riddel, "Joseph Willcocks, Sheriff, Member of Parliament and Traitor," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol.24,(1927),475.

[12] Talbot, along with Arthur Wellesley later Duke of Wellington, had been an aide de camp to Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

[13] See Alan G. Brunger, "Talbot, Thomas," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 8,857-61; F.C. Hamil, Lake Erie Baron.

In 1818 another member of the Anglo-Irish gentry, Richard Talbot,[15] led a group of Irish Protestants from County Tipperary to Upper Canada under the £10 deposit plan instigated by the British Government.[16] Richard Talbot encountered many difficulties; over half of his settlers left the party by the time they reached Prescott and the remainder settled in London township. In 1819 a group of sixty-seven friends and relatives of the first settlers joined them.[17] Richard Talbot himself, however, was not very successful. He quickly ran into debt, and was eventually forced to sell his lands.[18]

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[13] (cont'd) The Story of Colonel Thomas Talbot (Toronto,1955); C.O. Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime, or; The First Half Century of the Talbot Settlement (St. Thomas,1904).

[14] Brunger, "Talbot, Thomas."

[15] See D.J. Brock, "Talbot (Talbott), Richard," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 8,855-56.

[16] The terms of this plan allowed for a grant of one hundred acres per successfully settled settler for whom a £10 deposit was refundable. On arrival, however, Talbot was granted one thousand acres on condition that his settlers be located under the usual terms of settlement.

[17] D.J. Brock, "Richard Talbot, the Tipperary Irish and the Formative Years of London Township:1818-1826," M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario,1969,65.

[18] Ibid.,88-95. His son Edward Allen wrote of his experiences in Five Years Residence in the Canadas, (London,1824), declaring Canada not to be the place for gentlemen settlers.The Anglo-Irish often found that their past experience did not facilitate pioneer farming. The experiences of Thomas Stewart from County Antrim, who settled in the Otonabee region in 1822, mirrored the often

The Anglo-Irish formed small nuclei outside of Toronto, and were quick to establish local power bases similar to those with which they had been familiar in Ireland. The settlement of Reverend James MaGrath and several sons in the Credit area in 1827 illustrates this process. James became Rector of St. Peter's Church and a seven hundred acre estate formed the basis of the family's prosperity. Within ten years the MaGraths operated two mercantile businesses and the post office. Reverend MaGrath had been appointed a local magistrate and his son William a commissioner for the Court of Requests.[19]

MaGrath was among the earliest of a large number of Anglican clergymen among the Anglo-Irish gentry who came to Upper Canada during the 1830s.[20] The success by and large of the Anglo-Irish gentry attracted friends and extended family members throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Anglo-Irish immigrants continued to slot into an established network based on land, commercial enterprise, local administrative positions and politics.

The Anglo-Irish gentry shared a social identity which underlay their sense of Protestant supremacy in Ireland. The

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[18] (cont'd) referred to difficulties encountered by other gentleman settlers. G.H. Needler, Otonabee Pioneers. The Story of the Stewarts, the Stricklands, the Traills and the Moodies (Toronto, 1953).

[19] Colin J. Brannigan, "'A Pamphlet of a Very Scurrilous Nature': A Libel Case from Upper Canada of the 1840's," Canadian Papers in Rural History, vol.4, ed. D.H. Akenson. (Gananoque, 1984), 182. See also J. Banks, "The Reverend James MaGrath: Family Man and Anglican Cleric," Ontario History 55, No.3, (1963): 131-42.

[20] They are discussed in Chapter 3.

Anglo-Irish came to Canada with high expectations. An ex-settler on his return to Dublin in 1835, advised "the better classes" of their social prospects in Canada:

> in many parts you will meet with as good society, as numerous and as genteel, as in most parts of Ireland, and consisting of people generally much more inclined to conciliate each other and be obliging than they had ever been in the "old country".[21]

Jean Burnet has suggested that "upper class immigrants were much alike whether English, Irish or Scotch".[22] The Anglo-Irish certainly did attempt to maintain the propriety of gentlemen with British sensibilities.[23] Ethnicity, however, remained an important means of personal identification to the Anglo-Irish. Upper class Irish immigrants were not, for instance, above Irish-Scottish enmity. Stafford Kirkpatrick[24] referred to the 79th Regiment stationed at Kingston as "those Scotch savages."[25]

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[21] Canada in the Years 1832, 1833 and 1834, Containing Important Information and Instructions to Persons Intending to Emigrate Thither in 1835 by an Ex-Settler, Who Resided Chiefly in "the Bush" for the Last Two Years (Dublin,1835),22.

[22] J. Burnet, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada, (Toronto,1972),18.

[23] The Anglo-Irish saw themselves as loyal British subjects and entitled to the rights of the British Constitution, whether in Ireland or Upper Canada. Their political nationality was British, while their particular political outlook and social identity was Irish. To be British and to be Irish as well was not a paradox.

[24] Stafford Frederick Kirkpatrick (1809-1858) from County Dublin, followed in the footsteps of his older brother Thomas, who arrived in Upper Canada in 1823. Like his brother, Stafford became a lawyer in Kingston then moved to Peterborough. By 1841 he had returned to Kingston and was appointed district judge in 1845.

[25] Queen's University Archives, (hereafter QUA), Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder A, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick,22-31 Aug.1831.

The Anglo-Irish gentry transferred many of the social presumptions and values of their culture to Upper Canada. They were used to living under an administration in which they had little trust and they had experienced the necessity for an aggressive assertion of their position in society. Their self-confidence came from a sense of importance and place within a small sphere: family, kinship, locality and cultural group.[26] The family home was central to their sense of status and security.[27] The Anglo-Irish were accustomed to seeing themselves as the local agents of social control by virtue of their assumed moral superiority. These factors were fundamental to their sense of identity in Canada. That identity was peculiarly Irish, implicit in the subtleties of their domestic lives and relationships with other Irish people and in a continuing sense of identification with their native land.

The realisation of landed proprietorship, which had been limited or denied to them as individuals in Ireland, was the fundamental aspiration of the Anglo-Irish in Upper Canada. It was perceived to be integral to the social status which they claimed. The building of a family seat was undertaken with assiduous planning. The country houses which the Anglo-Irish envisaged were symbols of the status which they had achieved or hoped for. They encapsulated the atmosphere of family and place central to Anglo-Irish culture. "I have a very commodius [sic] house in the country", Dr. William Warren Baldwin informed a friend in 1819:

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[26] For a discussion of how these aspects were interrelated in Ireland see Ian d'Alton, Protestant Society and Politics in Cork, 1812-1814. (Cork, 1980), chapter 1.

[27] In Ireland it lent a sense of continuity through succeeding generations; the various branches of a family were distinguished by reference to the family seat.

> it consists of two large parlours hall and stair case on the first floor - four bed rooms and small library on the second floor - and three excellent bed rooms in attic storey or garrett ... a kitchen, dairy, root-cellar wine-cellar and mans bedroom underground - I have cut an avenue through the woods all the way so that we can see the vessels passing up and down the bay.[28]

The idyll realised by Baldwin at Spadina in York was mirrored by Stafford Kirkpatrick in Peterborough. Kirkpatrick bought land outside the town in 1831. He described to his brother Alexander in Dublin the home that he intended to build. It was to be a country seat, complete with stables and a farm on twenty acres. "Clonsilla is now roofed in," he wrote triumphantly in September 1836, "and we hope please God to occupy it next summer."[29]

The Irish gentry ascribed to the Burkean dictum of accepting the prescriptive duties as well as the rights of property. As a class they had a sense of noblesse oblige typical of many of their British counterparts, but which had been heightened and particularised in the Irish environment. They transferred this sense of moral responsibility to Canada and it included the notion that the welfare of their Irish countrymen depended on them.[30] A marked sense of paternalism was apparent among the Anglo-Irish gentry in the employment of Irish servants and labourers.[31] "I have now got a family of man and wife and child out from the County Tipperary", reported Eliza Good[32] in 1840.[33] The Irish names Quinlan, O'Donnell, Casey, Ryan, Fitzgerald and Cloughnessy appear in the list of labourers who worked on the Good farm near Brantford after 1846.[34]

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[28] Thompson, Spadina, 78-79.

[29] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 18 July, 22 and 26 Sept.1836.

[30] Burnet suggests that the opposite was the case. Her evidence, however, inadequately supports her contention.

The employment of Archy Burke and Willy Duggan by Francis Stewart[35] in 1857 shows the tenor of this paternalism. The pair had been recommended by her sister Catherine[36] in Ireland: "Archy Burke is a most useful creature very trustworthy and clever and a capital workman." The Stewarts obviously thought so too, and Catherine was soon able to relay back to Canada the information that "Annie Duggan was so happy to hear that Willie's Master and Mistress are pleased with him." Francis Stewart directed letters between the Duggans and was requested through her

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[30](cont'd) Burnet, Ethnic Groups,,18.

[31] In most cases it was not specified whether these employees were Catholic or Protestant. It may be inferred from their names that they included both.

[32] Eliza Good was the wife of Allen Good (1799-1876). Allen Good, born in Cork of a merchant family, came to Canada in 1836 as manager of the Montreal branch of the new Bank of British North America. A controversial decision in 1837 led to his dismissal, and in 1838 the Goods moved to the one hundred and eight acre farm near Brantford which Good had purchased the previous spring.

[33] B. Good Latzer, Myrtleville. A Canadian Farm and Family,1837-1967 (Carbondale, Ill.,1976), quoted on p.29.

[34] Ibid.,34.

[35] Francis Stewart was married to Thomas Alexander Stewart. They emigrated from Ireland in 1822 and settled in the backwoods.

[36] Catherine was married to George, a brother of Thomas and Stafford Kirkpatrick.

sister to pass on messages to Archy of events taking place in his old neighbourhood in Ireland.[37]

The Irish gentry had a sympathetic, if detached, concern for their less fortunate countrymen. In 1840 there was a dramatic increase in the number of Irish immigrants to Canada. They were largely Roman Catholic and many were destitute. In September 1840 Stafford Kirkpatrick wrote from Peterborough to his brother in Ireland:

> ...about 27,000 immigrants arrived this year. Few have found their way here, as there is but one public work in progress in the neighbourhood. I wish your Poor Law Guardians would spend your rates in sending out able bodied men and their families.[38]

The bewilderment of the Irish she saw arriving in Kingston moved Harriet Cartwright[39] to write: "The emigrants of last year [1840] especially were almost entirely southern and western Roman C and I met several who could not even speak enough of English to make themselves understood."[40]

Irish immigrant labourers and artisans sought out the Irish Protestant gentry who had been known to them or their families in Ireland. William Tyrrell,[41] noting the slim prospects for the Irish in his district in 1840, remarked in a letter to his brother-in-law in the County of Cork: "I had two of Dan O'Connell's nephews working for me about a year ago. They are carpenters."[42] Tyrrell's biographers asserted that his reputation for philanthropy attracted numbers of Irish immigrants to Weston where they received materials, at little or no cost, to build cottages.[43] The assumption that a common Irish ethnicity was sufficient grounds to expect aid from the gentry was certainly prevalent among the Irish. "A man named Ritchey was here lately", Stafford Kirkpatrick informed his brother during the summer of 1831:

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[37] Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, G.H. Needler Papers, Manuscript Collection 63, Box No.2, Copies of Letters from Harriet Beaufort and Catherine Elizabeth (Browne) Kirkpatrick to Mrs. Thomas Alexander Stewart, Catherine Elizabeth Kirkpatrick to Francis Stewart, June 1857, 24 Sept.1857.

[38] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 19 Sept.1840.

[39] Harriet Dobbs (1808-1887) came to Kingston in 1832 on her marriage to Reverend David Robert Cartwright. She was most remembered for her life-long charitable work with the Female Benevolent Society.

[40] QUA, Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to her sister Madeline, 15 Feb.1841.

[41] William Tyrrell, from County Kildare, arrived in Upper Canada in 1836. He began a successful construction business

> he was entirely destitute, and with true Irish modesty he asked not for a temporary relief but for cash sufficient to defray his expenses to the island of Cuba(s)[?] where he has some relatives, and he really appeared to think he was not asking anything unreasonable. Why, forsooth because his brother had some mercantile dealings with our father (as he says) and the shop in Dame Street [Dublin] was patronised by the family; however he got ten dollars and we never heard more of him.[44]

On the other hand there are indications that the bond of ethnicity also worked in favour of the gentry. William Hutton,[45] bemoaning his difficulty in acquiring credit on

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[41] (cont'd) in the Humber Valley.

[42] Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, William Tyrell Papers, Manuscript Collection 25, William Tyrrell to Rev. J. Smith, 8 July 1840.

[43] E. Lennox Morrison and J.E. Middleton, William Tyrell of Weston (Toronto,1937),56.

[44] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder A, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 22-31 Aug.1831.

[45] William Hutton (1801-1861) was born in Dublin to a Presbyterian family. His father was a Unitarian minister. William, on running into financial difficulties farming during the 1820s, decided to emigrate. In 1834 his family settled at Belleville. Hutton was first cousin to Francis Hincks whose influence secured Hutton's appointment as Warden of Victoria District. This connection gave him an

his arrival in Upper Canada, admitted in a letter to his wife: "I should probably have had an address from the tenantry and others knowing me which would have done me no harm in a strange land."[46] Kirkpatrick, reflecting on the success of his business to his brother, noted "being an old country man goes a great way... but being an Irishman goes much further with those from the Emerald Isle."[47]

The attitudes of the Anglo-Irish gentry towards other Irish people in Upper Canada were sometimes ambivalent, sometimes contemptuous; their responses were shaped by factors of religion and class. The Stewarts in Douro found themselves living among the Irish Catholics of the Peter Robinson Settlement.[48] Thomas admitted in 1826 that he had been mistaken in his prejudice towards them:

> When we heard of their coming among us we did not like the idea, and immediately began to think it necessary to put bolts and windows and bars on our doors and windows; all these fears have vanished.[49]

Henry Campbell, a surgeon, recounted his experiences of a

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[45](cont'd) introduction to Robert Baldwin with whom he subsequently corresponded.

[46] William Hutton to Fanny Hutton, 8 June 1834, G.E. Boyce, Hutton of Hastings. The Life and Letters of William Hutton, 1801-1861 (Belleville, 1972), extract on p.35.

[47] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 29 May 1836.

[48] A state assisted emigration scheme from southern Ireland under the direction of Peter Robinson, brother of John Beverley Robinson, Attorney General of Upper Canada. See Peter L. Maltby and Monica Maltby, "A New Look at the Peter Robinson Emigration of 1823," Ontario History 55, No. 1 (1963): 15-21; Wendy Cameron, "Selecting Peter Robinson's Irish Emigrants," Histoire sociale/Social History No. 17 (mai/May, 1976): 29-46.

[49] Thomas A. Stewart to the Reverend James Crowley, 20 January 1826. [Evidence before Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1826]. The Valley of the Trent, ed. E.C. Guillet (Toronto, 1957), 112.

storm on the St. Lawrence in 1832. He wrote with a certain flourish to his father, the Rev. Robert Campbell in Templepatrick, County Down, of how he noticed one passenger:

> Upon his knees, with his hands clasped around the mast beating his breast and vociferating with religious fear "Hail Mary! Sweet Mary! Mother of God save us." I gave him a kick on the posterior and ordered him up to assist, told him there was no time to be lost in praying upon such an occasion. He turned round with a face 'shade of Hogarth whither art thou fled!!' and sung out "Sweet Mary Save us."[50]

Campbell's attitude towards his Catholic countrymen was one of arrogant contempt.

A strong suspicion towards Roman Catholicism, which did not necessarily imply hostility towards individuals, was evident among the Anglo-Irish gentry. In 1834 Harriet Cartwright proudly described a new Bible school as having

> 3 or 4 Romans assembled together with our English and Scotch and Methodist children, and as our Teacher is an Independent belonging to none of us, we are not likely to become sectarian....[51]

Her views reflected the liberal spirit of tolerance which had characterised many of the Anglo-Irish gentry from the turn of the eighteenth century to the 1820s in Ireland. During the debate on the Union of Upper and Lower Canada, however, Cartwright felt less secure: "We are threatened by the inundation of Romanism," she declared.[52] As in Ireland the Anglo-Irish in Old Ontario often allowed their ingrained distrust of Catholicism to surface.

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[50] Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, (hereafter PRONI), D 693/7/1, William Campbell to Rev. Robert Campbell, 28 Oct. 1832.

[51] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to a friend, 24 April 1834.

[52] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to her mother and sisters, 20 Dec. n.d.[1839?].

The perceptions and reactions of the Anglo-Irish to life and events in Old Ontario were shaped by their experience in Ireland. For some, Upper Canada was a haven of safety and tranquility, as Thomas MaGrath explained in 1832:

> When we contrast our peaceful and tranquil state here, with the turbulence of Ireland, our hearts overflow with gratitude to the being who has cast our lot, where neither bars nor bolts are necessary ... where we can leave our property lying carelessly around us.[53]

In the years before the 1837 rebellion the political evolution of Upper Canada may well have seemed mundane in comparison to the issues convulsing Irish society. Harriet Cartwright, in the early 1830s, saw the province as a political backwater: "It seems like being on a stagnant pond, after long experiencing the violence of the Tempest, and the waves of the ocean."[54] William Tyrrell was not, unlike many Upper Canadians, unnerved by the border skirmishes continued in the aftermath of the Rebellion. Writing to his sister in 1839, he drew an analogy with Ireland: "I am so accustomed to hear of them coming and killing a few and scampering across to their place of safety again, I begin to think no more of it than of a fight at the fair of Carberry."[55]

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[53] Thomas W. MaGrath to the Rev. Thomas Radcliff January 1832, Authentic Letters from Upper Canada, ed. T. Radcliff (Toronto,1953),67.

[54] Harriet Cartwright to a friend, Jan.1834, Margaret Angus, "A Gentlewoman in Early Kingston," Historic Kingston 24(1976),quoted on p.78.

[55] William Tyrrell Papers, William Tyrrell to Martha Smith, 30 June 1839.

The Anglo-Irish gentry maintained their identification with Ireland through a personal and cultivated emotional attachment. Irish memories and associations were kept alive by the use of Irish names. 'Tyrcathleen' for instance, was the name given by the Reverend Arthur Palmer to the Anglican rectory he had built in Guelph.[56] Stafford Kirkpatrick called his home 'Clonsilla' after the area in County Dublin where he had been brought up.[57]

Correspondence with relatives and friends, and visits by family members to Ireland, linked the Anglo-Irish communities in Canada and Ireland across space and time. The desire among the Anglo-Irish to keep up correspondence with their families in Ireland was facilitated by their wealth, level of education and leisure time. They kept their families informed of the fortunes of other Anglo-Irish in Canada. In March of 1833 Stafford Kirkpatrick informed Alexander:

> William Gwynne is doing remarkably well at York, when the principle practioner there (a Dr. Widner) is absent or unwell, Gwynne is always called in although there are about a dozen others, he also has a salary of £100 for attending the military....[58]

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[56] Leo A. Johnson, History of Guelph, 1827-1927 (Guelph, 1977), 115-116.

[57] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 18 July 1836.

[58] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder A, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 11 March 1833. William Gwynne (1806-1875), a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, settled in York in 1832. He served as Deputy Grand Master of the Orange Lodge of British North America until 1839 when he left the Order after an unsuccessful attempt to depose Gowan as Grand Master. In 1842 he was appointed a professor at King's College, Toronto; on its council from 1843, he opposed High Church and clerical dominance. He remained as professor after the reconstitution of the University of

Harriet Cartwright lamented the departure from Kingston of an Irish family, the D'Oliers, for Peterborough.[59] A letter from Stafford Kirkpatrick revealed that Reverend D'Olier, an Anglican minister, subsequently had to leave Peterborough, returning to Ireland for health reasons.[60] "He is replaced," he continued "by the Reverend C. Wade son of the late Mr. Wade of Gt. Georges Street and Co. Meath and married to a daughter of Mary Hamilton of Ballymacall."[61] When Harriet Cartwright informed her mother in September 1833 that she intended to send the post with Thomas Kirkpatrick who was going to Ireland, she reminded her that they had all visited 'Coolmine'.[62]

Ongoing financial and legal transactions or interest provided an additional impetus for correspondence and keeping family members in touch. Joseph Standish returned to Ireland in 1824 most probably to dispose of his interest in

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[58](cont'd) Toronto in 1849. Gwynne by the 1840s supported the Baldwin Reformers.

[59] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to her father Conway Dobbs, 1 July 1833.

[60] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 26 Sept.[1834]? William Hutton, describing the sins of drinking, cursing and swearing prevalent in the Peterborough area, reported to his mother that D'Olier had left "in utter disgust and from fear of his family being contaminated." William Hutton to his mother Mary Hutton, 30 May 1834, Boyce, Hutton of Hastings, 13-14.

[61] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 26 Sept. [1834]? This snippet reveals the passion that the Anglo-Irish had for being able to place people in terms of their family and relationships. The rural background of the late Mr. Wade was obviously as crucial in identifying him as his association with Great Georges Street in Dublin. Distinctions between family branches or members were usually made by identifying them as being of a certain place, frequently using the name of the family seat.

[62] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to her mother Sophia Dobbs, 2 Sept. 1833.

mortgaged lands in Leix. He also unsuccessfully pursued debtors for his brother Matthew who had likewise settled in Upper Canada.[63] Barbara Sullivan, sister of William Warren Baldwin, maintained property interests in Cork. Robert noted in 1836 that he had seen "the houses on which Aunt Sullivan's ten pounds a year is charged."[64] William Hutton saw fit to request a loan from his cousin in 1836 and from his brother in 1837, much to the chagrin of his family.[65] Alexander Kirkpatrick of Coolmine attended to his brother Stafford's yearly sum on his life insurance. It was not until 1850 that Stafford Kirkpatrick saw fit to entrust a Canadian company with his policy.[66]

The Anglo-Irish sought to pass on their attachment to Ireland to their children. Infant Conway Cartwright in his first letter to his grandfather in Dublin assured him through his father's pen: "I hope to see you all some day if I live, and Mama will teach me to love my Irish home as soon as I am able to learn."[67] Similar ex-patriate sentiment was instilled in Robert Baldwin as a child. It came to fruition when he was thirty-two years old on a visit to Ireland in 1836: "....on my arrival in Dunleary ... I felt my heart warm towards the country of my forefathers to an extent I had never experienced before."[68] Robert Baldwin's trip was an extraordinary pilgrimage of sentimentality. He visited the graves of various relatives and places associated with the family. He ceremoniously cut sods as family relics. In all, fourteen 'relics', including a blackthorn stick, various stones and timbers, were placed in a flat oak box and brought back to Canada.[69]

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[63] Houston, Numbering the Survivors, 55.

[64] Metropolitan Toronto Library, (hereafter MTL), Baldwin Papers, Section II L 6, Memorandum of a Visit to Cork in the Autumn of 1836.

[65] William Hutton to his mother Mary Hutton, 27 March 1836; Fanny Hutton to Mary Hutton, 2 July 1834; William Hutton to his mother Mary Hutton, 6 Aug.1837, Boyce, Hutton of Hastings, 51-62.

[66] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder D, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 15 Jan.1850.

[67] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book. Conway Cartwright to his grandfather Conway Dobbs, 24 Oct.[1834]? It is likely that "Conway" was Conway Richard (1834-1835), the Cartwright's first son. Conway Edward their third son was born May 1837; the Cartwrights travelled to Ireland later in that year.

Many of the Anglo-Irish gentry were enabled by their wealth to refresh their links with Ireland in a way which was not often accessible to other Irish immigrants. A visit home to Ireland was not unusual for this group. Stafford Kirkpatrick's law practice, for instance, allowed him the possibility of four months leave of absence. "Don't be very much surprised if you see me walk into Coolmine House in October," he announced in May 1839 to Alexander in Dublin.[70]

An Irish identity among the Anglo-Irish gentry in Upper Canada was also fostered by a common and continuing link with an institution in Ireland which embodied their cultural tradition - Trinity College, Dublin. Many of them had attended Trinity before emigration, in particular those who were ministers of the Anglican Church.[71] The appointment of John McCaul[72] of Trinity College, Dublin, as principal of Upper Canada College in 1838 reinforced this connection. Moreover, several of the wealthiest Anglo-Irish families sent their Canadian-born sons to Ireland to be educated at Trinity College, Dublin. These included George Airey Kirkpatrick and Richard Cartwright.

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[68] Baldwin Papers, Memorandum of a Visit to Cork in the Autumn of 1836.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 27 May 183.

Visits to Ireland were made for a variety of reasons. Ireland was regarded as a healthy escape from the stultifying Canadian air which bred fever and ague. William Hume Blake took his son to Ireland in 1836 "for a change of air".[73] During the winter of 1853-54 William Hutton was sent by the Canadian government to lecture on the advantage of emigration to Canada.[74] Charles Good, son of Allen Good, determined to go to Ireland in 1861, hoping to find better prospects than were available in Canada. Despite the discouragement from his uncle in Cork, he set sail in November. He was armed with powers of attorney from his two sisters, to whom their aunt in Canada had bequeathed Irish interests which had not materialised. Charles wrote of his visit to many parts of Ireland and family friends, and described the changes which had improved Cork to his father.[75]

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[71] See Chapter 3.

[72] John McCaul (1807-1887) was a scholar and tutor at Trinity College, Dublin, prior to his emigration to Upper Canada. A Church of Ireland minister, he was awarded the LLB and LLD degrees. In 1839 he was appointed principal of Upper Canada College. In 1843 he became vice-president of King's College, Toronto, and president in 1848 on the resignation of Strachan. In 1853 when the University of Toronto was reorganised, McCaul became president of University College.

[73] D. Swainson, "Blake, William Hume", Dictionary of Canadian Biography 9(Toronto,1976),55.

[74] Boyce, Hutton of Hastings, 186-187.

The Anglo-Irish in Old Ontario found contentment in knowing that their children might share with them the acquaintance of relatives and esteemed friends in Ireland. A letter of thanks from Elizabeth Tyrrell to her niece in Ireland for hospitablity extended to her son illustrates this:

> My dear Robert was very much gratified and delighted with his visit to Ireland, and his Father has enjoyed it all over again with him since his return. He has now some person to talk about persons and places with which both are familiar.[76]

Visits by the second generation strengthened family bonds and reinforced a sense of Irish identity.

The Anglo-Irish gentry remained aware of political and social events in Ireland. Their degree of education and the social circle in which they moved ensured that the Anglo-Irish gentry, unlike many Irish immigrants, need not feel cut off from Ireland. Many Canadian newspapers, irrespective of their political leanings, published Irish news. As Harriet Cartwright explained to her sisters in 1833: "I have to thank you for the news but we are not so much out of the world as you suppose."[77] The news of Ireland was for the most part depressing and discouraging for the Anglo-Irish: the Catholic Relief Act in 1829, the tithe war of the early 1830s, the growth of the Repeal movement and perpetual reports of distress, disturbances and agrarian outrages. The temperance movement, initially associated with the activities of Protestant evangelicals,[78] was one of the few positive aspects the Anglo-Irish ever read of their native land.

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[75] Good Latzer, Myrtleville, 85-89.
[76] William Tyrrell Papers, Elizabeth Tyrrell to her niece, 12 April 1876.
[77] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to her sisters Madeline and Kate, 20 July 1833.

In Upper Canada, too, a temperance movement had appeared by the end of the 1820s.[79] Although American in origin, the movement had its impetus in the endeavours of the Methodist Church. In the prevailing atmosphere of ideological hostility towards the United States and suspicion of the Methodists, enthusiasm for temperance was certainly not universal. Anglo-Irishman Colonel Thomas Talbot characterised temperance groups as "Damned Cold Water Drinking Societies," suggesting that they were a cover for the dissemination of Republican disloyalty.[80]

During the 1840s temperance was seen as a fundamental step to ameliorate the condition of the increased numbers of the poor. It was to combat the evils of crime, violence and immorality to which the lower class -- predominantly Irish -- succumbed once in the clutches of alcohol. The sober and industrious poor through self-help could improve their situation.[81] Unlike many Upper Canadians who determined to reform the intemperate and idle poor, Harriet Cartwright did not look to America as the source of information and advice, but rather to Ireland.[82] In 1841 she requested tracts from her native land: "I do not like some of the yankee tee total ones published", she wrote:

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[78] See Chapter 3.

[79] See M.A. Garland and J.J. Talman, "Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of the Temperance Agitation in Upper Canada Prior to 1840," Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. Essays Presented to J.J. Talman, ed. F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson, J.D. Wilson (Toronto,1974),171-193.

[80] Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime,167. Talbot's attitude may well have been a reflection of his own reputedly excessive drinking habits. Reverend William Proudfoot Diary, 1 Sept.1834, cited by Garland and Talman, "Pioneer Drinking Habits,"173.

> I would rather have the more moderate popular Irish ones which come home so admirably to the firesides of our Irish people whether in the bogs of Ireland or the wilds of Canada.[83]

The success of Father Mathew's Temperance Movement in Ireland[84] was followed with interest by the Irish gentry in Canada. William Hutton's reaction was typical:

> I am glad to see such a wonderful reformation in Ireland as regards the sin of drunkenness. If accounts be true, then Ireland will be a much altered country.[85]

In Ireland temperance became more than a social movement; it was also seen to have political connotations as it became identified with O'Connell and the demand for the Repeal of the Union.[86] Harriet Cartwright was therefore skeptical of the prospect of tranquility in Ireland and was concerned about the implications for Canada: "I trust that those who bring their pledges to this country may keep them in good faith apart from all political incentives."[87]

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[81] For a discussion of these ideas see J.M. Clemens, "Taste Not: Touch Not: Handle Not: A Study of the Social Assumptions of the Temperance Literature and Temperance Supporters in Canada West Between 1839 and 1859", Ontario History 64(Sept.1972):142-160.

[82] Clemens points out that of the Protestant churches the Anglican was the least involved with temperance societies. Clemens, "Taste Not," 146. Harriet Cartwright's perspective and enthusiasm, despite being the wife of an Anglican minister of English origin, must surely have been the result of an Irish upbringing.

[83] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to her sister Madeline, 15 Feb.1841

[84] It was actually a total abstinence movement. See Elizabeth Malcolm, "Temperance and Irish Nationalism," Ireland under the Union: Varieties of Tension. Essays in Honour of T.W. Moody, ed. F.S.L. Lyons and R.A.J. Hawkins (Oxford,1980),69-114.

[85] William Hutton to his mother Mary Hutton, 24 March 1840, Boyce, Hutton of Hastings, extract on p.76.

The concern for temperance was the core of a more general philanthropic attitude towards the relief of the lower classes. Charity was, moreover, seen as a means of social control.[88] The activities of the Female Benevolent Society in Kingston, in which Harriet Cartwright played a central role, illustrate this spirit.[89] It was heavily challenged by the condition of the Irish famine immigrants who arrived in 1847.

The Irish potato blight of 1846 provoked a crisis, not only in Ireland, but also in Canada. The consequences of the crop failure were realised in Canada by the spring of 1847, and preparations were made by the government and local authorities to receive immense numbers of immigrants. Evidence as to the attitudes and extent of concern or action taken by individuals among the Anglo-Irish in Canada to aid distress, either in Ireland or Canada, is scant.[90] In

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[86] See Malcolm, "Temperance and Irish Nationalism,"69-114.
[87] Harriet Cartwright Letter Book, Harriet Cartwright to her father Conway Dobbs, 1 Dec.1840.
[88] Patricia E. Malcolmson, "The Poor in Kington,1815-1850," To Preserve and Defend. Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century, ed. G. Tulchinsky (Montreal,1976),294.
[89] See Margaret Sharp Angus, "Dobbs, Harriet (Cartwright)," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 11(Toronto,1982),265-55.
[90] For a discussion of general reaction to the Irish famine immigrants in Canada West see J.G. Parr, "The Welcome and

Guelph, Reverend Arthur Palmer led an appeal which raised £400 for the relief of famine in Ireland.[91] In the township of Burford, James Howard was treasurer of the Irish Relief Fund.[92]

The settlement and employment of these Irish immigrants became a matter of debate in Canada West. In April 1847 a public meeting of prominent Irish citizens was held to form a plan for the assistance of immigrants. Robert Baldwin, although agreeing with Dr. McCaul that Irish peasants must learn to be provident, remarked:

> The same Irish peasant who starves at home, gets first a log home and a farm, and finally a brick house. It is the unfortunate position in which he is placed at home that produces his misery.... What he [Baldwin] deprecated was the assertion that it was anything in the character of an Irish peasant that produces his poverty. He did not wish to see them on the canals and public works; the land was the best mode of securing the support of themselves and families.[93]

In Kingston at least three prominent Irish Protestants, Mayor Thomas Kirkpatrick,[94] Alderman Robert Anglin[95] and

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[90](cont'd) the Wake, Attitudes in Canada West toward the Irish Famine Migration," Ontario History 66 (June,1974):101-113; L.A. Harvey, "The Canadian Response to the Irish Famine Emigration of 1847", M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia,1973.

[91] F. Peake, "Unity and Discord: A Study of Anglican Tensions in 19th Century Ontario," Some Men and Some Controversies, ed. R. Ruggle (Erin,Ont.1974),119.

[92] Davin, The Irishman,268.

[93] Examiner, 14 April,1847. For Baldwin, it was not the Celtic temperament which explained the Catholic Irish but the Irish environment.

[94] Thomas Kirkpatrick (1805-1870) studied law in Kingston under Christopher Hagerman. He was M.P. for Frontenac from 1867 to 1870.

[95] Robert Anglin had emigrated from County Cork in 1823. In Kingston he set himself up as a Cordwainer. He was a sometime councillor for Cataraqui ward. He and Thomas Kirkpatrick were instrumental in setting up the local Board

William Ford, were among those involved in effecting practical help for the dying and destitute Irish. Objections were made, however, to the proximity to the town of the sheds erected at Murney Point and steps were taken to have them removed. Kirkpatrick and Anglin, due to their compassion, actually found themselves indicted at the assizes for "maintaining a nuisance to the danger of the health of the citizens."[96] In October 1847 Stafford Kirkpatrick, then living in Kingston, described the situation to Alexander in Dublin, noting that the fever sheds still held about 700 patients: "I do not know what is to become of the unfortunate creatures in this town during the winter," he declared.[97] To illustrate his point Kirkpatrick described the case of a woman driven by destitution to commit crime. He had procured food from the gaol for her six children while she awaited trial. "This is but a beginning of the evil," he concluded ominously.[98] A House of Industry was opened in December 1847, and nearly all of its 185 inmates admitted in that first month were Irish widows and children.[99]

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[95] (cont'd) of Health during the famine immigration.

[96] Public Archives of Canada, (hereafter PAC), Library, 1909(149), Newspaper Cutting of Speech of Principal Grant of the General Hospital at Kingston at the Unveiling of the Monument to 1847, 18 Aug.1894. The speech was based on information from Michael Flanagan, Secretary to the Municipal Board of Health in 1847.

[97] Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder D, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 26 Oct.1847.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Malcolmson, "The Poor in Kingston,"293.

The Anglo-Irish then, transferred a distinct social identity as part of their cultural tradition to Old Ontario. Their security was based on land ownership, the family home, and an extended network of Irish relatives and friends. Their paternalism and attitudes towards other Irish people, rooted in a class perspective, indicate that the Anglo-Irish held a deep fear of Catholicism rather than a personal dislike of individual Catholics. The Anglo-Irish continued to identify with Ireland and Irish affairs through personal correspondence and occasional visits. Their attachment to their native land was in many cases passed on to the next generation. The cultural ethos of Trinity College, Dublin, was transferred to Upper Canada, and reinforced a link with Ireland within the cohesive social network which the Anglo-Irish maintained in Old Ontario. An Anglo-Irish connection was also significant in the evolution of Upper Canadian politics.

The political assertiveness of the Anglo-Irish in Upper Canada contributed an Irish dimension to the movement for political reform. That dimension is best described as the *transfer* and *adaptation* of the liberal political tradition of the Irish Whigs. Two separate, but linked, aspects of the Reform movement illustrate that Irish political identity. First, the political perspective of many early Reformers in Upper Canada was based in eighteenth century Irish political thought. Second, the arguments and tactics of the Anglo-Irish group in the Reform party drew a direct parallel between contemporary Ireland and Canada. This discussion is not concerned with the details of constitutional arguments, nor the intricacies of Reform politics. It seeks, rather, to isolate patterns of thought which reveal an Anglo-Irish ideological perspective and a continuing identification with Ireland.

In Ireland during the second half of the eighteenth century, dissension arose with the ranks of the Ascendancy, or Protestant landowning classes:

> One section found its satisfaction in serving British interests in Ireland, with the rewards of local power, office and status. But another section resented its inferiority and produced an Irish version of English Whiggery in response, stressing and seeking those constitutional, political and economic gains of 1688 which Englishmen were presumed to enjoy but the Anglo-Irish had still failed to secure.[100]

The cultural nationalism of the Irish Whigs, or Patriots as they were known, found its political expression in the creation of an independent Irish parliament in 1782. "Ireland is now a nation,"[101] declared the Patriot leader, Henry Grattan, in his opening speech. The constitutional legacy of colonial nationalism, as expressed in the creation of Grattan's parliament, was the most likely source of one important element of the Reform tradition in Canada. "The

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[100] Oliver MacDonagh, States of Mind. A Study of Anglo-Irish Conflict, 1780-1980 (London, 1983), 73. For an overview see Edith M. Johnston, Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, (Dublin, 1974). Also useful is J.L. McCracken, The Irish Parliament in the Eighteenth Century (Dublin, 1971).

[101] J.C. Beckett, The Anglo-Irish Tradition (Ithaca, 1976), 9.

Irish revolution came to raise a question that the American had not, the question of the responsibility of the ministers of the crown to the legislature."[102] The idea of "ministerial responsibility" or "executive accountability" to the local legislature was distinctly Irish. It arose out of the specific circumstances of the functioning of an Irish parliament after 1782.[103]

Dissatisfaction soon arose outside of the Irish parliament when it became clear that one oligarchy had simply been replaced by another. The Catholic question remained unsolved, and Presbyterians in Ulster, through the Volunteer Movement,[104] expressed their determination to be rid of all religious disabilities. By the end of the 1790s dissent in Ireland had moved from opposition to an unreformed parliament to radical Republicanism. The radical element, through the United Irishmen,[105] moved towards an unsuccessful rebellion in 1798, a prologue to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801.[106] A number of Irishmen, at least one of whom was suspected of links to this movement, were among the first group to oppose the government in Upper Canada: William Willcocks, Joseph Willcocks, William Weekes, Charles Wyatt and Robert Thorpe.[107] These men were products of eighteenth century Ireland and well versed in the political upheavals of the previous quarter century. On arrival in Upper Canada they ran up against an administration inimical to their interests. Russell's Anglo-Irish clique had been displaced in 1799 on the arrival of a new Lieutenant Governor. Peter Hunter, Lieutenant Governor from 1799 to 1805, was a Scot, as were several prominent members of his Executive Council.[108] Ethnic tensions seem to have sharpened the Irish opposition.[109] Their criticism of the administration was quickly characterised as disloyal. For the Irish, loyalty did not imply concurrence with the administration but rather attachment to a set of constitutional principles.[110]

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[102] W.L. Morton, "The Local Executive in the British Empire, 1763-1828," English Historical Review 78(1963), 441.

[103] For a discussion of the creation of an Irish Reponsibility see D. Kennedy, "The Irish Whigs, Administrative Reform, and Responsible Government, 1782-1800," Eire-Ireland 8(1973):55-69.

[104] A militia force established in 1788 as British troops withdrew from Ireland in preparation for war and which subsequently used its position to make political demands on the Irish parliament.

[105] A non-sectarian Republican movement which embodied the views of one of the leaders, Wolfe Tone.

[106] The Bill of Union was passed in December 1800. It came into effect January 1, 1801.

William Weekes[111] on his election to the Assembly in 1805 immediately spoke out against Hunter and his Executive. In 1806 he questioned financial irregularities, namely the removal of a substantial sum from the provincial treasury without the approval of the legislature.[112] In his complaints against the legal disabilities of Quakers and Methodists in regard to the ceremony of marriage, Weekes picked on a grievance which was familiar to all Irishmen. Charles Wyatt, who had been appointed Surveyor General of Upper Canada on his arrival in 1805, brought a fraudulent land deal on the part of the Executive Council to the attention of the Assembly. When the new Lieutenant Governor, Sir Francis Gore, objected in 1807, Wyatt maintained that the Assembly was "omnipotent".[113]

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[107] See H.H. Guest, "Upper Canada's First Political Party," Ontario History 54,No.4(1962):275-96; and G. Patterson, "Whiggery, Nationality and the Upper Canadian Tradition," Canadian Historical Review 56(March 1975):25-44.

[108] G.M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years,1784-1841, (Toronto,1963)59. Hunter was immediately critical of Russell's policy on the granting of land, arguing that applicants should be more carefully screened. Craig, Upper Canada,49.

[109] See Patterson, "Whiggery, Nationality,"29-30.

[110] David Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty in Upper Canada,1815-1850," PhD Thesis, Carleton University,1981,35.

[111] William Weekes came from Ireland by way of New York, where he had worked as a lawyer under Aaron Burr. He was killed in a duel which arose from his criticism of Hunter at the Niagara assizes in 1806.

Robert Thorpe from Dublin was the most prominent among the Irish oppositionists. He was appointed a puisne judge of the Court of King's Bench in 1805; on taking up his appointment he launched into the incongruous role of critic of the administration.[114] On the death of Weekes, Thorpe was elected to fill the vacant seat in the Assembly in 1807, where he continued to outrage the administration with his "Republican" principles. Thorpe argued that all provincial revenues should be claimed by the Assembly which should not allow taxation without consent.[115] On his suspension as judge later that year, Thorpe left Upper Canada. From 1807 Joseph Willcocks[116] bolstered Irish opposition through his

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[112] Craig, *Upper Canada,* 59.
[113] Annual Report of the Public Archives of Canada, 1892, (Ottawa: 1893) 62, cited by Craig, *Upper Canada,* on p.60.
[114] See Craig, *Upper Canada,* 60-62.
[115] F.C. Hamil, "The Reform Movement in Upper Canada," in *Profiles of a Province,* 10.
[116] Joseph Willcocks, following his kinsman William Willcocks, arrived in Upper Canada in 1799. Through Russell's influence he secured 1200 acres as a land grant; Russell also took him on for some time as his private

Upper Canada Guardian or Freeman's Journal.[117] This early opposition was not, however, coherently organised, but rather the outcome of personality conflicts and personal ambition.[118] The impetus for opposition was, moreover, interrupted by the War of 1812-14.

A Reform movement emerged again during the 1820s.[119] Criticism of the distribution of patronage and control of the revenue was increasingly voiced. In 1828 a Reform party was organised to draw up opposition strategies.[120] The aim of the Reformers was to work towards changing the balance of power. They denounced the Executive Council as omnipotent, independent of opinion in the Assembly, and having exclusive influence on the Lieutenant Governor. William Warren Baldwin was the central figure among this group. H.H. Guest has argued that Baldwin formed a link with the earlier Reformers with whom he had sympathised but not actively supported.[121]

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[116](cont'd) secretary. His attacks on the administration led to his dismissal as Sheriff of the Home District in 1807. His career in the Assembly was interrupted in 1808 when he was imprisoned on a libel charge. Rumours of Willcocks' involvement with the United Irishmen in 1798 (See Riddel, "Joseph Willcocks",476-77) were inconclusive. He did, however, fight and die on the American side in the War of 1812-14.

[117] Craig, Upper Canada,63.

[118] Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty,"27,31.

[119] See Craig, Upper Canada,88-209; Hamil, "The Reform Movement,"9-19.

[120] Craig, Upper Canada,193.

[121] H.H. Guest, "Baldwin of Spadina, The Life of William Warren Baldwin, Central Figure in the Movement for Responsible Government in Upper Canada," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba,1961,chapter 4. In this context there has been a good deal of discussion surrounding Baldwin's connection with a tract written by "Canadiensis" which appeared in 1829. For a discussion of this see Patterson's historiographical critique in, "Whiggery, Nationality,"25-44, especially 32-44.

Baldwin and Charles Wyatt had a strong friendship.[122] William Warren Baldwin in 1829 explained the political dissatisfaction felt in Upper Canada to the British Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington. What was needed, Baldwin argued, was:

> a provincial Ministry (if I may be allowed to use the term) responsible to the Provincial Parliament, and removable from office by his Majesty's representative at his pleasure and especially when they lose the confidence of the people as expressed by the voice of their representatives in the Assembly.[123]

During the 1820s Baldwin's liberal sensibilities were provoked by the appearance of the Orange Order in the province. He introduced a bill designed to suppress Orangeism, suggesting that members:

> ...were not all acquainted with the evils to be apprehended from the public processions of this society. It was a political party branded with religious distractions... no party ever cultivated greater animosity; or exhibited a higher degree of hostile distinction from the rest of their fellow subjects.[124]

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[122] See J.M. Murray, ed., "A Recovered Letter: W.W. Baldwin to C.B. Wyatt, 6th April 1813," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, vol.35(1943):49-55.

[123] W.W. Baldwin to the Duke of Wellington, 3 Jan.1829, Colonial Office 42/390, Craig, Upper Canada, quoted on p.194. There has been controversy among historians as to the origin of Baldwin's proposal and as to what exactly his terminology implied. Aileen Dunham maintained that Baldwin was ahead of his time with the term "responsible government", which was not used until later in Great Britain. Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest in Upper Canada (London,1927) cited in G. Patterson, "An Enduring Myth: Responsible Government and the Family Compact," Journal of Canadian Studies 12,No.2(Spring,1977),4. W.L. Morton points out that in Ireland Grattan used "the language of accountability" during the Regency Crisis in 1789. Morton, "The Local Executive" 441. See also Patterson, "Whiggery, Nationality,"25-44.

[124] Upper Canada Herald, 17 June 1823, H. Senior, Orangeism: The Canadian Phase (Toronto,1972), quoted on p.9.

There was an inner caucus of Irish Protestants in the Reform Party of the 1830s and 40s including William Warren Baldwin, his son Robert,[125] William Blake,[126] and Francis Hincks[127] among others. Robert Baldwin, who became recognised as the leader of the moderate Reformers, perpetuated the two themes - responsible government and opposition to Orangeism - which had been taken up by his father. He insisted on the right of the Assembly to hold the Executive Council responsible for the actions of the government.[128] In 1844 Baldwin introduced the Secret Societies Bill as a resolute move against the Orange Order. The Bill was passed, despite the outrage of Orangemen who argued that it signified persecution by their political foes. It was, however, subsequently disallowed in London to the jubilation of Orangemen.[129]

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[125] Robert Baldwin (1804-1858) was called to the bar in 1825. He had a seat in the Assembly by 1830. From 1843 depressive illness gradually incapacitated Baldwin's leadership of the Reformers. (see M.S. Cross and R.L. Fraser, "'The Waste that Lies before Me': The Public and the Private Worlds of Robert Baldwin," Paper Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association,1983).

[126] William Hume Blake (1809-1870) was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin who sailed to Upper Canada with his family on the _Anne of Halifax_. (See Chapter 3) He was called to the bar in 1838 and became identified with the Reformers. In 1848 he became Solicitor General for Canada West by appointment of the Reform ministry.

[127] Francis Hincks (1807-1885) born in Cork, emigrated to Upper Canada in 1832. He opened a merchant business in York, and kept close contact with the Baldwins. In 1841 he was elected to the Assembly where he showed a pragmatic, if not opportunist approach to politics, in contrast to the unerring political principles of Robert Baldwin.

[128] See M.S. Cross and R.L. Fraser, "Baldwin, Robert," _Dictionary of Canadian Biography,_ 8,45-59.

[129] J.M.S. Careless, _The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions,1841-1857_ (Toronto,1967),82,93.

The question of the extent to which an Anglo-Irish background affected Reform political tactics as opposed to political ideology has not been addressed by historians. The bulk of Irish Protestant immigrants were seemingly Tory by inclination;[130] the Reform party certainly did not represent Irish interests. Nevertheless, an Irish dimension was apparent in their political arguments as presented by the Examiner, an official organ of the Reform Party published in Toronto, edited by Hincks from 1838 to 1842.[131] Its views can be assumed to reflect the Baldwinite element of the Reform party.

A good deal of Irish news was published in the columns of the Examiner. Information was extracted from a selection of Irish newspapers and the few British publications which tended to be apologist on the Irish situation. It was designed to keep the Irish in Canada West abreast of events at home.[132] The editorials in the Examiner were critical of the stereotyped image of Ireland as a land of outrage and distress:

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[130] See S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario, (Toronto,1967),25-6.

[131] The Examiner was founded by Francis Hincks in 1838 and was a significant Reform voice until it was supplanted by The Globe. James Lesslie (see J.M.S. Careless, "Lesslie, James," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 11,516-19) then became editor until 1846, when he was replaced by Charles Lindsay.

[132] The columns on the "National Beauties of Ireland" which appeared in March 1847 (see for example 24 March 1847), were sure to provoke the sentimentality of Irishmen, and provided a diversion from the stories of destitution which were reaching Canada. The Examiner printed a variety of announcements, social, personal, and general, to reach an Irish readership. A notice from the Bank of British North America in 1841 declared that it was not prepared to grant drafts on branches of the Provincial Bank of Ireland (7 April 1841).

> We witness from day to day the manifestations of the press of the mother country as well as that of Canada, in many instances, characterised by a cold indifference, or high toned contempt of everything that relates to Ireland ... we should think that there are in the general occurences of that country, many things connected with her condition more gratifying to the philanthropist and moralist, more interesting to the statesman than the repulsive narrations of mid night violence.[133]

The Examiner itself, however, also gave substantial coverage to Ireland's ills, emphasising they were the result of the Irish environment, rather than the product of the Irish national character.[134]

The Examiner's scrutiny of Ireland's ills did not, however, include criticism of an ascendancy of land ownership. A column on the distress in Ireland due to the crop failure of 1846 commented that this would prevent the payment of rents: "Ireland suffers as much from the poverty of its landed proprietory as from the wretchedness of its peasantry."[135] In Ireland, unlike in England it was pointed out, the poor gentry outnumber the rich. Anglo-Irish Reformers sprang from that minor gentry group.

In 1847 the editor of the Examiner was critical of the promotion of emigration as the remedy for Ireland's distress. He suggested that an examination of the causes of misery was appropriate:

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[133] Examiner, editorial 13 Sept.1843.

[134] "What then if the Irish character should really present to us an anomaly?", the Examiner asked. "It is the natural result of circumstances... The History of Ireland is a dark, a bloody spot on the page of England's annals of conquest." Examiner, editorial, 13 Sept.1843.

[135] Examiner, 16 Dec.1846.

> It can scarcely be a matter of question that those who emigrate will better their conditions; but that evils which arise from existing bad government and from the effects of a barbarous code of laws that would have been a disgrace to Nero can be removed by the wholesale decimation of the population is an idea which raises a pleasing hope without a reason for it to rest upon.[136]

The Examiner expressed alarm at the prospect of huge numbers of destitute Irish landing on Canada's shores. "Her Majesty's Government have a very poetical and romantic idea of emigration."[137] The summer of 1847 was to prove these fears. An extract from the Times of London on the suffering of the Irish at home and abroad appeared on the front page of the Examiner:

> Historians and politicians will some day sift and weigh the conflicting narrations and documents of this lamentable year and pronounce.... The boasted institutions and spirit of the empire are on trial.[138]

The Examiner for the most part, however, was concerned with exposing those Irish issues and events which were of particular relevance, as the Reformers interpreted them, for Canada West. Parallels were drawn between controversies in Ireland and Canada in order to cultivate political support for the Reform Party. In attacking the Tory oligarchy in Canada, the Reformers drew analogies with Ireland to illustrate the dangers such an oligarchy represented for the inhabitants of the province.

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[136] Examiner, editorial, 21 April 1847.

[137] Examiner, editorial 19 May 1847. See Parr, The Welcome and the Wake, 101-113, to put the Examiner's views in the context of general opinion in Canada West.

[138] Examiner, 17 Nov. 1847.

The constitutional struggle of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland was followed with keen interest by the Examiner. O'Connell's political movement, however dissimilar, provided a parallel for that of the Reformers in Canada. The Examiner sought to clarify and heighten awareness of the Irish Repeal Movement. From 1840 through 1845 selected speeches and addresses of Daniel O'Connell appeared in its columns. It was above all O'Connell's opposition to a Tory oligarchy, coupled with his condemnation of Orangeism, which received focus. O'Connell's constantly reiterated loyalty was also emphasised by the Examiner.[139]

The state trial of O'Connell in 1844[140] was followed with a sense of indignation by the Examiner. An editorial in February 1844 commented that the events surrounding the trial

> are naturally calculated to strengthen the "antagonism" of Ireland to English misrule, and will perhaps only hasten the redress of those grievances under which that unhappy country has so long suffered.[141]

The tactic of allowing extracts from the British apologist press to express the Examiner's sentiments was employed to advantage during this period. A piece in the Leeds Times was printed in April which asked of what exactly O'Connell had been convicted: "Guilty of telling the Irish people that they are enslaved, insulted, plundered and coerced by a venal oligarchy...[?][142] The immortality of O'Connell was propounded by the Examiner:

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[139] In July of 1843 Daniel O'Connell's Memoir of Ireland was advertised for sale at the Examiner office; it was noted that it was dedicated to the Queen. Examiner, 12 July 1843.

[140] O'Connell was prosecuted by the Crown on a charge of intimidation and the demonstration of physical force. He was convicted, fined and imprisoned.

[141] Examiner, editorial, 28 Feb.1844.

> The character of an age is sometimes merely the inscription of an individual.... The patriot whose memory is embalmed in a nation's heart, has an epitaph which the coroding hand of time cannot obliterate.[143]

The Irish Reformers indeed saw O'Connell as a figure for emulation in Canada West.

Direct support for the principle of Repeal of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was of course contentious, and inherently politically dangerous. Activist Repeal agitation among the Irish in Canada certainly did take place. It is difficult, however, to assess its strength or clarify what persons instigated it from the passing newspaper references to meetings.[144] In 1843 W.A. Baldwin informed his brother Robert that he had been approached to attend a Repeal meeting. He was, he said, in agreement that the notice required an answer, "which disapproved of the Agitation of the Question in toto - this I was told afterwards gave great offence."[145] The relationship between overt campaigners for Repeal and the tacit cautionary stance of Reform politicians was a difficult one.

The Reformers insisted on their loyalty to the Crown, Constitution, and maintenance of "the British connection" in Canada. When the Patriot questioned the impartiality of the

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[142] Leeds Times (extract), Examiner, 10 April 1844.
[143] Examiner, editorial, 13 Sept.1843.
[144] See Chapter 4.
[145] Baldwin Papers, W.A. Baldwin to R. Baldwin, 12 Oct.1843.

Examiner on the repeal question, an editorial made the Examiner's position explicitly clear:

> We have "quite enough" to do with our own affairs, without publically agitating a question upon the final adjustment of which we could exercise little or no influence, and we might almost pledge ourselves that no section of the Reformers of this country, not even those whose sympathies as Irishmen are naturally entwined around the land of their birth, will put themselves in a position of which their political oponents would speedily endeavour to take advantage.[146]

Irish political nationalism was clearly a factor which was handled with circumspection by Reformers and in accordance with the demands of Canadian politics.

The Examiner was strongly critical of Orangeism and the ascendance of an established Church in Ireland, pointing out that they supported the position of the Tory party in Ireland. The Examiner carefully monitored the Orange cause in Ireland, linking it with Tory opposition to Repeal. The fraudulent loyalty of Irish Orange Societies was demonstrated by their flagrant contravention of the law. In 1840 the Examiner published an extract from the Cork Southern Reporter which described Orangemen as having "the audacity to launch themselves in ... [a] new form as the 'Loyal Orange Association of Cork'...."[147] The Examiner was underlining the potential insidiousness of the Orange Order in Canada West.

The Examiner was ever vigilant for issues involving the claims of an established Church. Those Anglo-Irish Reformers who were Presbyterians were particularly hostile to the principle of an established Church, which in Ireland had resulted in the imposition of legal disabilities on Presbyterians as well as on Catholics. In July 1844 the Examiner drew attention to the controversy in Ireland surrounding the validity of marriages between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, which was arousing the wrath of Dissenters throughout the United Kingdom. Canada, it pointed out, was not free of such injustice and usurpation: the Anglican Church continued to maintain a claim on all the inhabitants of Upper Canada.[148] William Hutton, referring to the thwarted aims of the Repealers and the possibility of rebellion in Ireland in 1848, remarked:

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[146] Examiner, editorial, 13 Sept.1843.
[147] Examiner, 1 April 1840.

> One thing they will get thousands of Protestants to join them in and that is in the opinion that the Union never should have been effected. There should be some concessions made especially as to the humbling of the dominant Church.[149]

The Anglican Church in Upper Canada had traditionally asserted exclusive rights to the clergy reserves and education. Its claims were opposed by the Reformers, on the grounds that the Church was a bulwark for the Tory oligarchy.[150] The issue of the clergy reserves produced acrimonious debate in the 1820s. During the 1830s the Reform party argued that the proceeds of the Reserves should be used to support education.[151]

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[148] Examiner, editorial, 31 July 1844.

[149] William Hutton to his mother Mary Hutton, 2 May 1848, Boyce, Hutton of Hastings, extract on p.152.

[150] See Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition,"25.

[151] See Craig, Upper Canada, 165-87.

Throughout the next decade the Reformers viewed education as the most contentious issue in the ongoing debate on church-state relations. State-supported non-denominational schools, it was argued, were the best way of ensuring the educational progress of Upper Canadians.[152] An 1842 editorial in the Examiner supported its arguments in favour of the Common School system by reference to Ireland. It noted that the Irish National Board of Education, established by the Whig ministry in 1831, did not allow use of a Bible in schools but rather selected passages acceptable to all denominations.[153] A possible danger inherent in the scheme was also indicated by the Irish model. It was pointed out that the possibility of Roman Catholic participation would be sought by the Tories on terms dictated in the knowledge that they would not be accepted; this would undermine the principle of the scheme:

> There is a High Church party in this province as in the mother country, whose grand objective is not to educate the people but to make proselytes to their own faith.[154]

In the autumn of 1844 the Examiner carried a report on the discussion of the University Question in Ireland in the Imperial Parliament.[155] In 1845 recognition was finally accorded to the idea of the necessity for more than one university with grant of an annual endowment for Maynooth

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[152] For a discussion of these views on education, see Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto, 1977).
[153] Examiner, editorial, 12 Jan. 1842.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Examiner, 21 Oct. 1844.

College, the Catholic seminary. The Examiner remarked that it was "only a small instalment of that justice which is due to Ireland."[156] The issue of church-state relations in Canada likewise revolved around education and institutions of higher learning:

> We consider this question an important one, as involving principles which have long been agitated in Canada. The large majority of the people here have been struggling for years against this 'protestant ascendance' under state patronage, which has been the curse of Ireland .... We may safely trace to this same source all the political evils under which Canada labours.[157]

An Irish dimension then, was clear in the Reform movement as it evolved in Upper Canada. The experiences of the Anglo-Irish in Ireland determined their political outlook. The ideological basis of their opposition, the idea that the Executive Council should be answerable to the Assembly, had its origins in eighteenth century Ireland. In the Irish Whig tradition this was regarded as a safeguard against Tory encroachment on the liberties of the subject.

This tradition was perpetuated by the Anglo-Irish within the Reform movement of the 1820s; it shaped their ideological responses into the 1840s. The Reform party, moreover, identified with the political situation in Ireland, and drew analogies to illustrate their arguments for Reform in Upper Canada. The Examiner focused on the evils of a Tory oligarchy when discussing Irish problems; it was this oligarchy, rather than the British connection, which was seen to cause Ireland's problems. By the same token, it was the Tory oligarchy, bolstered by Anglican ascendancy and the Orange Order, which was the cause of all the ills in Upper Canadian society. Loyalty to the empire was the crucial test for the leaders of the Reform party in their tactical endeavours to use an identification with Irish affairs to their political advantage.

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[156] Examiner, editorial, 21 May 1845.
[157] Ibid.

The Anglo-Irish gentry was a closely knit group in Old Ontario. As a class its members transferred their Irish sense of Protestant supremacy to Upper Canada. Their security was rooted in the ownership of land and local power bases. Their attitudes and philanthropy towards other Irish immigrants reflected the role to which they had been accustomed in Ireland. As an educated elite they carried their sense of responsibility and liberal breadth of vision into the sphere of provincial politics. In keeping with Irish liberal tradition they opposed an Executive whose patronage did not extend to them. The Anglo-Irish Reformers in opposition to the Tory oligarchy identified with the interests of their Catholic countrymen and condemned the sectarian aggression of Orangemen. The liberal tradition of the Anglo-Irish was very different from the conservatism of the northern Irish who settled in Upper Canada.

III. THE NORTHERN IRISH PROTESTANTS AND THE ORANGE ORDER

The northern Irish represented the largest proportion of the Protestant Irish who came to Old Ontario. They came from small farms or belonged to the urban tradesman class. Many of them left Ireland, especially during the 1820s and 1830s, with some means and high expectations. They hoped to improve their lot in Canada to a level which could never be achieved in Ireland. But they discovered, like their Anglo-Irish gentry countrymen, that Irish ethnicity was a hurdle which had to be overcome before they won acceptance in Old Ontario. They responded by aggressively asserting their Protestant supremacy, as they had in Ireland, to maintain their identity in the province.

This chapter examines the cultural identity of the northern Irish in Old Ontario. It is defined in terms of two aspects: a personal identity reflected in a continuing connection with Ireland as revealed through the personal correspondence of a number of settlers from northern Ireland, and a group identity in relation to the Orange Order. Their Protestantism, reinforced by their Irish ethnicity, became the fundamental element in the cultural identity which they projected.

Northern Irish Protestant immigrants had arrived in Upper Canada in some numbers during the late 1820s; a considerable increase was evident during the 1830s and

1840s.[1] Recent research indicates that most of them became farmers, who were often as successful as other groups in the rural society of Upper Canada.[2] The emphasis of these new works has been on the economic profile of these Irish Protestants and their ability to achieve successful farming operations. Little has been written about the effects of chain migration or a transferred network among northern Irish Protestants in relation to settlement or cultural transfer.[3] The question of continuing links with Ireland has not been addressed. It is the Orange Order which has engaged the attention of historians of the Protestant Irish in Upper Canada. The Order has primarily been presented as a political force in the evolution of the province.[4] The emphasis in this chapter, however, will be on the extent to which a sense of Irish identity was expressed through the Orange Order. The changing role, profile and image of the Order are analysed in relationship to the process of integration experienced by the northern Irish in Old Ontario.

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[1] In 1842 there were 78,255 Irish-born people living in Upper Canada. There were twice as many Protestants as Catholics, therefore there were approximately 52,000 Irish Protestants in the province. D.H. Akenson, "Whatever Happened to the Irish?" in Canadian Papers in Rural History, vol.3, ed. D.H. Akenson (Gananoque,Ont.,1982),212,221.

[2] See D.H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Kingston,1984); also useful is G.L. Lockwood, "Irish Immigrants and the 'Critical Years' in Eastern Ontario: The Case of Montague Township,1821-1881," Canadian Papers in Rural History, vol.4, ed. D.H. Akenson (Gananoque,1984),153-78.

[3] This is in contrast to the Anglo-Irish gentry and Irish Roman Catholics. An article by R. Cole Harris, P. Roulston, and C. de Frietas, "The Settlement of Mono Township," Canadian Geographer 19,No.1(1975):1-17, briefly touches on questions of cultural transfer in relation to the settlement of the northern Irish, but is rather general in its conclusions.

[4] See the work of H. Senior: "The Genesis of Canadian Orangeism," in Historical Essays on Upper Canada, ed. J.K. Johnson (Toronto,1975),241-261; "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism and the Immigrant Question,1830-1835," Ontario History 66(Dec.1974):193-210; Orangeism. The Canadian Phase (Toronto,1972). Useful exceptions are C.J. Houston and W.J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada (Toronto,1980); and C.J. Houston and W.J. Smyth, The Orange Order in Nineteenth Century Ontario:

Northern Irish settlers, like the Anglo-Irish gentry, preserved their cultural identity and identification with Ireland. The nuances of this identity were also rooted in perceptions based on their class and background in Ireland. A network of communication is evident among these immigrants, as information about relatives and friends passed back and forth across the Atlantic. Through the means of family and kinship ties they continued to identify with Ireland and sought news of local events and developments there. Their level of education was a contrast to that of their Anglo-Irish gentry countrymen. Such a contrast underlines the significance of literacy levels as a variable in relation to cultural identity and class distinctions among the Protestant Irish.[5]

The process of emigration was no less carefully planned by this northern Irish group than by the Anglo-Irish gentry. Notification of impending arrival in Canada was often sent to those already in Canada. The response of John Graham who settled near Cobourg to his brother in County Cavan is

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[4] (cont'd) A Study in Institutional Cultural Transfer (Toronto, 1977).

[5] Extracts from letters have been left in original syntax and spelling, except those from a typescript source.

illustrative: "I am glad to hear that Edward Higginbotham is coming out but have not seen him yet i think he has stopped with James Niblock."[6] On arrival they sought out relatives or other immigrant families from northern Ireland.

Some of them, like the Irish gentry, carried letters of introduction or recommendation. Henry Johnston, who was in the woollen and grocery business, left Antrim in 1848 armed with a letter to make a contact in Canada. It had been supplied by J. Bristow of Dublin who had a friend, James Barbour, in the province. Barbour, who was from northern Ireland, kept a store at St. Annes in the township of Gainsborough. On Johnston's arrival in 1849 Barbour furnished him with a further letter of recommendation with which to seek employment.[7]

The advancement that could be made in Canada by people of this class was noted by these northern Irish Protestant immigrants. In 1839 Nathaniel Carrothers informed his mother about London:

> This has become a very fashionable place you would see more silks worn here in one day than you would see in Maguiresbridge in your life time and could not tell the difference between the lady and the servant girl as it is not uncommon for her to wear a silk coat and boa and muff on her hands and her bonnet ornamented with artificial flowers and veil and can well afford it, wages is so good.[8]

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[6] PAO, Miscellaneous Collection 1837 #9, John Graham to Henry Graham, 13 Jan.1837.

[7] PRONI, T3081, Letter of reference to James Barbour from J. Bristow, 27 June 1848; Henry Johnson to his wife Jane, 3 March 1849; Letter of reference for Henry Johnson from James Barbour, 23 April 1849, Letters of the McConnell family.

[8] PRONI, T 1886/1, Nathaniel Carrothers [?] to his mother [1839]? (unsigned).

Information for prospective emigrants as to their prospects in Canada was given by those who had "made good". Canada, however, it was pointed out, was not suitable for the poor or elderly, only the industrious young. As John Graham put it: "... tell Jemmy Caragher to come out here he is the man that fits this country any man coming here that has no boys able to help him had better stay at home...."[9] Encouragement and assurances as to the availability of land were sent to the doubtful in northern Ireland. In 1839 Nathaniel Carrothers admonished his brother in the County of Fermanagh:

> There does a wrong notion prevail with "yous" that is that a person coming to this country 15 or 20 years ago had a much better chance of doing well than those coming now. I say they had not near so good. They had many difficulties to encounter which have passed by.[10]

By 1853 however, Carrothers had to warn of escalating land prices in the area around London. He advised that the poor man coming to Canada would have to go back to some of the new townships where land was available from two to five dollars an acre.[11]

The northern Irish as individuals carried their profound hostility towards Roman Catholics to Canada. They found, and indeed helped to perpetuate, a society where they could maintain their attitudes. Henry Johnson described the

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[9] PAO, MU 2107, 1837 #9, Miscellaneous Collection, John Graham to Henry Graham, 13 Jan.1837.
[10] PRONI, T1886/1, Nathaniel Carrothers to his brother William Carrothers, 25 Dec.1839.
[11] PRONI, T 1888/2, Nathaniel Carrothers to his brother William Carrothers, 5 Dec.1853.

Atlantic journey on his arrival in 1848. When the ship began to take water he had not been impressed with the reaction of the passengers:

> All Roman Catholics with the exception of about forty protestants and a more cowardly lot of hounds than the same papists I never seen in the time of danger they would do nothing but sprinkle holy water, cry, pray cross themselves and all sorts of tomfoolery wickedness and they are just the same every place you met them at home or abroad.[12]

The remarks of one northern Protestant, Jane White, to a friend in Ireland had a self-righteous tone:

> I never liked any [Catholic] I ever knew, I was slightly acquainted here with a lady of that persuasion, my mother wished me to drop the acquaintance, I did so and do not regret it, they are so bigoted and uncharitable.[13]

The northern Irish continued to maintain a personal link with Ireland. They sought to retain an identification with their families and the locality in northern Ireland from which they came. Those who became successful continued to assist their families by sending money to relatives in Ireland. Mary Duggan, when sending money to her sister in Dungiven to facilitate her passage to Canada in 1848, implored: "I hop [sic] when you land in in Kingston that you will dress as well as you can when you come to me. I am at present with John A. Macdonald member of Parliament for Kingston...."[14] In 1849 R. Eldon of Pickering township received an effusive letter from his sister Mary Locke of

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[12] PRONI, T 3081, Letters of the McConnell family, Henry Johnson to his wife Jane, 18 Sept.1848.

[13] PRONI, D 1195/3/9, Jane White to Eleanor Wallace, 1 April 1856.

[14] PRONI, T 2946/1, Mary Duggan to her sister, 8 April 1848.

Portadown in appreciation of his generosity: "... in the relief you so seasonably sent to poor Eleanor ... -- it has been the only support of her family and I know not what she would have done only for it."[15] Nathaniel Carrothers, despite the improvements in land holding in Ireland by 1866, felt that his brother William's children would do better in Canada. In suggesting that William should send one of them out before renting a farm at home, Nathaniel guaranteed that if he, "be not likin to live here and wishing to return, I will pay his passage home a gain...."[16] The bonds between those in Canada and their families in Ireland remained strong.

Northern Irish Protestants tried to keep abreast of the news from Ireland. Letters, recent immigrants, and newspapers sent from Ireland provided information. Richard Breathwaite in Connington had a particularly avid interest ~~in~~ social and economic developments in Ireland. Writing to a family member in Lisburn, County Antrim in 1849 he earnestly appealed:

> ... do not neglect to write as soon as possible you get this letter and let us know about the 12th of July and of the Queen being in Belfast and all the news in the country.[17]

Joseph Carrothers longed for news from Fermanagh. In a letter to his brother he enquired as to who was living in his house. "You will excuse me," he proffered, "for troubling you in such a way, I am so glad to hear from my old country."[18] In 1867 Nathaniel Carrothers, while noting "we can have the news of the day [by] the antlick [Atlantic] cable", was appreciative of the newspaper sent by his brother William: "I got the paper with the account of the loyal meeting in Enniskillen in it and was glad to see that it was well attended."[19] He added that he had had local news "about Lisbellaw and its neighbourhood from the Carrols who came out last Spring."[20]

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[15] PAC, MG 24, I 138, Eldon Family Papers, 1725-1969, Mary Locke to R. Eldon, 1 Dec. 1849.

[16] PRONI, Irish Emigrants' Letters from Canada, 1839-1870, typescript ed. E.R. Carrothers (1951), Nathaniel Carrothers to his brother William Carrothers, 29 Jan. 1866.

[17] PRONI, T 1362/1, Richard Breathwaite to Remy Breathwaite, 1 Oct. 1849.

Requests to northern Ireland for newspapers to be sent out to Canada were significant in the correspondence of these Irish Protestants. It is an indication that the Canadian press, which did carry Irish news, did not fulfill the needs of the northern Irish.[21] The identification of these Irish Protestants with Ireland was a very local one and did not extend past northern Ireland.

Settlers from northern Ireland frequently expressed homesickness and a sense of alienation in Canada. Elizabeth Boardman in service in Port Hope expressed her feelings in a letter of 1821: "Dear Mother you want to know if I am content ... if you wear all in Canada but it is not easy to forget the ties of nature the land which gave me birth."[22] After thirty-one years in Canada Nathaniel Carrothers wrote: "I have had strong nosins of going back to see the old country and you in times that are past, but I suppose that I never shal now."[23] The wish to go to Ireland was often expressed:

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[18] Irish Emigrants' Letters from Canada, 1839-1870, Joseph Carrothers to his brother William Carrothers, 15 Feb. 1858.
[19] Irish Emigrants' Letters from Canada, 1839-1870, Nathaniel Carrothers to his brother William, 22 March 1867.
[20] Ibid.
[21] They did not have an effective or sustained press of their own in Upper Canada. The political orientation of Orange spokesmen in the Tory press was Canadian. The Reform or Catholic Irish interest press was also Canadian in its outlook. The Examiner, for example, published national rather than local Irish news, the selection of which can not have been pleasing to northern Irish Protestants.

> How I would like to take a trip to Ireland to see the James [?] family -- which I hear so many good accounts of and all my Aunts, Uncles, cousins and friends in general....[24]

Such dreams could only be an outlet for melancholy and reassurance for families in Ireland that they had not been forgotten.

Northern Irish Protestant settlement in Old Ontario was characterised by the operation of a network of family and kinship ties, which eased the process of immigration and helped to perpetuate their cultural identity. That identity included a continued identification with their native land. It also included hostility towards Roman Catholics as they transferred their sense of Protestant supremacy from Ireland. As a group northern Irish Protestants expressed that outlook through the Orange Order.

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[22] PRONI, T 2460 No.1, Elizabeth Boardman to her father James Boardman (Mother addressed within letter), 18 June 1821.
[23] Irish Emigrants' Letters from Canada, 1839-1870, Nathaniel Carrothers to his brother William Carothers, 29 Jan. 1966.
[24] PRONI, T 2338/4, "Emma" to "Dear Cousin", 14 March 1870.

The Orange Order was established as a result of the sectarian clashes of the 1790s in Ulster.[25] It was formed in 1795 in County Armagh to coordinate the defence of Protestants; initially its activities amounted to little more than terrorist outrages. It was the threat of rebellion by the United Irishmen and invasion from France that elevated Orangemen to the level of loyal defenders of the nation. Although the membership of the Order was drawn largely from the ranks of the yeomanry, by 1798 the leadership had been assumed by the gentry. After 1800 though the involvement of this class waned; Orange membership was relegated to the lower classes.[26] Orange lodges spread throughout Ireland becoming important foci for local Protestant communities.[27] In addition the Order was characterised by its conservatism in defence of the status quo and its intransigence towards Roman Catholics. In 1805, when a Catholic committee sought to present petitions asking for Catholic emancipation through the Whig oppostion at Westminster, the Orange-controlled Dublin Corporation drew up counter petitions.[28] In 1825 the Unlawful Societies Act led to the proscription of the Order; Orangemen simply formed Brunswick Clubs, which were especially strong in northern Ireland, to oppose Catholic demands for emancipation.[29]

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[25] The most comprehensive treatment of the Order in Ireland is to be found in H. Senior, Orangeism in Ireland and Britain, vol.3 1795-1836 (Toronto,1966).
[26] Gentry involvement did not appear again until the "crisis" prior to Catholic Emancipation in 1829.
[27] Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, 12-13.
[28] Senior, Orangeism in Ireland, 178.

Orangeism was brought to Upper Canada by Irish Protestant immigrants in the 1820s. Individual lodges were soon established. John Rutledge from County Fermanagh organised a lodge near York in 1819 and shortly afterwards he deeded a section of his land for an Orange Hall.[30] In the eastern part of the province Arthur Hopper oversaw the formation of lodges in the Ottawa Valley.[31] Tensions were immediately evident between the Orangemen and Irish Catholics; riots occurred at Perth in 1824[32] and Kingston in 1827.[33] In both these cases sectarian animosity occurred where large groups of Catholics and Protestants came into close contact. Lodges often held meetings in taverns, more especially prior to the building of a hall. In 1830 an organisational framework was imposed upon the lodges of Upper Canada with the formation of the Grand Lodge of British North America. This was largely due to the driving personality of Ogle R. Gowan[34] who had arrived in Brockville the previous year. Gowan became the first Grand Master, and Brockville the early locus of Orangeism in Upper Canada.

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[29] Ibid.,213-34.
[30] Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, 18.
[31] Ibid.,18.
[32] See J.K. Johnson, "Colonel James Fitzgibbon and the Suppression of Irish Riots in Upper Canada," Ontario Historical Society 58(1966):139-155.
[33] H. Senior, Orangeism. The Canadian Phase (Toronto,1972),10-11.
[34] Ogle R. Gowan (1803-1876) was born in County Wexford to an Anglo-Irish gentry family. His father had been Captain of the Wexford Yeomanry in 1798. Gowan became an Orangeman; he published a political newspaper, the Antidote, in Dublin and several anti-Catholic tracts. On arrival in Brockville, he founded the unsuccessful Brockville Sentinel in 1830 (Antidote from 1832). Gowan became a contender in provincial politics and as an Orangeman the champion of the immigrant

Orange Lodges eased the arrival of many of the Protestant Irish, providing a point of contact and a link with other Irish people already settled. Benjamin Warren, on his arrival in Upper Canada, headed for "Brockville of high renown", knowing that he would find directions there to his sister's exact location in the vicinity.[35] The Orange Order assisted in the procuring of land deeds through the influence of men like Gowan.[36] Taverns run by Orangemen were an important link in the Orange Irish network. In 1835 Ogle Gowan asked his cousin James to call at the Black House Tavern in Toronto whose owner, Mr. Brown, was an Orangeman and friend. He was to ask of the whereabouts of Mr. Tyrrell, "who was an Emigrant from Ireland, and stopped at Mr. Brown's when I was last in Toronto."[37]

The Orange Order fulfilled a fraternal and benevolent function for the northern Irish. The ritualism and symbolism which gave Orangeism its underlying structure must have provided security and a sense of self-worth through its familiarity. The rites of initiation and degree were the private bonds of the Order. Parades and processions publically manifested strength and resolve. Lambeg drums,

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[34] (cont'd) Protestant Irish.
[35] PAC, MG 24, K 64, Benjamin Warren, A Collection of Loyal Songs and a Number of Love Songs, etc. Together Anecdotes etc..
[36] PAO, MU 1147, Gowan Papers, Ogle Gowan to James Gowan, 20 Nov. 1835. Quoted by Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, on p.172.
[37] PAO, Gowan Papers, Ogle Gowan to James Gowan, 9 Dec. 1835.

banners[38] and King Billy on his horse lent colour and a sonorous sense of occasion to the 12th of July. The actual rhetoric used by the Order in Canada was similar to that of Ireland. In 1840 Ogle Gowan informed James Gowan that he was sending him "the heading and mottos of the Irish institution ... that they might be a sort of guide...."[39] It is probable that this rhetoric per se perpetuated and nourished an identification with Ireland on a personal level for Irish Protestants.

Membership in the Order could help to allay fears of destitution in times of adversity. An Orangeman who had paid his dues might hope, in the event of his death, for pecuniary assistance for his family and a dignified burial with Orange honours for himself. Such benevolent actions varied in scope and application according to the level of funds held by individual lodges.[40] Lodge 512 in Montague township, for instance, saw fit to donate fifteen shillings to one of its members to offset losses incurred during a robbery in 1854.[41] Funds were raised by holding social events. An "Orange soiree" was held in Toronto in January 1855 in aid of the Widows and Orphans Fund of Deceased Orangemen. Tickets at 3s-9d entitled the bearer to tea, speeches and dancing until the late hours.[42] A similar soiree took place six months later, this time to raise money for the Toronto Orange Band.[43]

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[38] These banners were embroidered with Orange symbols and illustrations of the events of 1690. See G.J. Lockwood, Montague. A Social History of an Irish Ontario Township: 1783-1980 (Smith Falls,1980),316-18.

[39] Gowan Papers, Ogle R. Gowan to James R. Gowan, 23 June 1840.

[40] See Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, 127-132.

[41] L.O.L. No. 512 Orange Lodge Montague, Minutes,1853-1861, 14 Aug.1852, quoted by Lockwood, Montague, 320.

The northern Irish who settled in Upper Canada in the 1830s found themselves, as Irishmen, excluded from political and social recognition. Prejudice against the Irish gave membership in the Orange Order a sense of purpose in the new world. The Orange Order became the institutional support of the northern Irish as they sought to integrate themselves in Upper Canada. This process, from the 1830s to the 1850s, involved adaptation of outlook by the Orangemen as circumstances changed.

From 1830, Ogle Gowan, who assumed leadership of the Protestant Irish, demanded that the Tory and Reform elites share the fruits of patronage at their disposal in Leeds county. He railed against the stereotyped reaction to the Irish, that they should be treated as a subservient people. Gowan fulminated against "native prejudice" in Upper Canada in general, and the exclusiveness of the Tory concept of loyalty in particular.[44] Gowan denied the validity of national distinctions wherever the benefits of the British Constitution were enjoyed. As British subjects, he argued, "all could unite without sacrifice of origin."[45] It was as the champion of immigrant interests in the name of a common British nationality that Gowan sought political position.

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[42] Leader 25 and 31 Jan.1855.
[43] Leader, 12 June 1855.
[44] David Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty in Upper Canada,1815-1850," PhD thesis, Carleton University,1982,164-67.
[45] Antidote, 22 Jan.1833, quoted by H. Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism and the Immigrant Question," on p.209.

Gowan first looked to the Reformers for support, but as an Orangeman his overtures were rejected. As an independent immigrant candidate in 1830, however, Gowan made little headway.[46] Gowan then attempted to ingratiate himself, and by implication the Protestant northern Irish, with the Tory establishment. He sought an alliance with the Tory families of the Brockville area - the Sherwoods and Jones - in opposition to the Reformers.[47] After 1832 Gowan also sought an alliance with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, Alexander Macdonell. It was implied that such an example of unity would offer proof of an Irish common interest in defending the British Constitution.[48] "It must be obvious to every philosophical mind, that a civil union between Protestants and Roman Catholics against the gloomy Yankee faction ... is called for...", Gowan intoned in 1832.[49] A letter signed "Hibernicus" appeared in the Orange newspaper Antidote in January 1833. It voiced the chagrin of Gowan and his supporters whose political organisation, tactics, and election hopes had been thwarted over the previous two years:

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[46] Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty,"164.
[47] See Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism, and the Immigrant Question,"193-210; and Akenson," The Irish in Ontario, 169-183.
[48] See W.B. Kerr, "When Orange and Green United,1832-39. The Alliance of Macdonell and Gowan," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records 34,(1942):34-42. Kerr suggests that the Tory-Reform reversals (18 seats) of the 1836 election can be put down to this alliance. It is not so clear that Macdonell commanded the loyalty of the Irish Catholic body; the anti-Catholicism of Irish Orangemen was a strong counter force (see chapter 4).
[49] Brockville Gazette, 30 Nov.1832, quoted by Senior, Orangeism, on p.21.

> ...we are told that the Irish are a restless and turbulent people - that it requires troops to keep us down at home... Let us no longer be hewers of wood and drawers of water to a faction whose only aim is to oppress us ... whose only boast is that we would care not to vote against them ... we have played second fiddle long enough. The time has come when we must assume a more manly front.[50]

The letter also indicated the reasons for this failure.

Gowan's political tactics eroded the effectiveness of his political strategies. Violence on the part of his Orange supporters characterised his election campaigns. After a by-election in 1833, the Reform newspaper, the St. Thomas Liberal, declared that Gowan had charged Charles Jones with apostasy on account of Jones' ability to preserve the peace:

> How annoying it must have been to this political volcano to see an election conducted without Shillalaghs and to see men vote for whom they pleased! Ah Pat, surely it was not so in your country. Gowan in the bitterness of rage and disappointment issues his mandate to the Lodges - henceforth, he says "coercion not conciliation must be our policy!"[51]

It seemed that this was indeed the policy of the Protestant Irish, as Gowan's election to the Assembly in 1834 and again in 1835, was declared invalid because of violence at the polls.[52] Although Orange violence was distasteful to the Tory elite, it was also effective in their interests. It was the conservative weight of the Orange Irish which allowed

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[50] Antidote, 29 Jan. 1833, quoted by H. Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism and the Immigrant Question, 1830-1833," Ontario History 66 (Dec. 1974), 208.
[51] St. Thomas Liberal, 25 April 1833.
[52] Gowan finally took a seat in 1836.

Gowan to run as a successful candidate alongside Robert Jameson, Attorney-General, in 1834.[53]

The Rebellion in 1837 created a crisis in Upper Canada, and an opportunity for the Orange Irish. As in Ireland in 1789, they acquired respectability through national defence. A similar pattern of upper class leadership, as personified in the exploits of Gowan as Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia, emerged in 1837 in Upper Canada.[54] In 1839 the Grand Lodge of British North America claimed that Orangemen comprised over half the total number of loyal militia men who had protected Canadian soil.[55] The northern Irish Orangemen through their proven loyalty had legitimised their claim to political acceptance.

In the 1840s though, the Orange Order shifted its focus from a defense of Irish ethnicity and immigrant interests; instead the Order re-emphasised its religious basis. After the Union of Canada West with French Canadian Catholic Canada East, and as increasing numbers of Irish Roman Catholic immigrants arrived in the province, the staunch Protestantism of the Order was underlined. In 1840 the Grand Lodge of British North America stated:

> The Association is general, not confined to any

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[53] Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 180-83.

[54] For Gowan's role see Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 193-96.

[55] PAC, Copy of Resolutions of Grand Lodge of British America,1839, vol. Q 418, Part 1 annexed to a letter of Sir George Arthur to Lord Normanby, 27 July 1839, cited by Kerr, "When Orange and Green United," on p.42. See also Colin Read, The Rising in Western Upper Canada,1837-38. The Duncombe Revolt and After (Toronto,1982) on Irish loyalty during the Rebellion.

> particular place, person or nation, but extends itself wherever a loyal Protestant Briton is to be found to the corners of the globe, for establishment of the Protestant faith and British Liberty to the latest ages of posterity.[56]

Tensions between Orangemen and Catholics escalated during the 1840s; religious animosities aggravated political differences. The riots which broke out in Bytown in 1849 over an address to be presented to Lord Elgin, illustrated how the Orange Order functioned as a bulwark of Tory and Protestant conservatism.[57] In Bytown the Order had become a driving force for the Tories against the rising strength of Reformers. In September 1849 Tory and Reform protagonists clashed in what appeared to be an Orange-Catholic riot.

In this period the Orange Irish became increasingly acceptable in the political sphere, particularly at the local and municipal level. In Toronto, as early as 1844, six out of ten aldermen were Orange.[58] G.S. Kealey has drawn attention to the importance of the patronage of the Corporation for the Protestant Irish in Toronto.[59] The Corporation, through its power as a licensing authority, controlled an Orange network in the city. The licensing of taverns was central to building up its political support base. When in 1839 Orangeman John Lindsay, proprietor of the North of Ireland Tavern, supported the Reformers at the Durham meeting, he was not granted a renewal of his license.[60] Orangemen were numerous in the police force, and according to Reform and Catholic sources, also had the ear of many magistrates throughout the province.[61] By the 1840s then, the Orange Order was seen to bolster the position of the Protestant Irish at the local level.

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[56] British Grand Lodge of North America, 1840 quoted by Houston and Smyth, The Orange Order, on p.15.

[57] See M.S. Cross, "Stony Monday, 1849: The Rebellion Losses Riot in Bytown," Ontario History 63, No.3 (Sept. 1977): 177-190. Cross notes that local animosities, ethnic tensions and economic unrest provided the complex background to the events of 1849.

[58] Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, 157.

[59] G.S. Kealey, "Orangemen and the Corporation. The Politics of Class, during the Union of the Canadas," Forging a Consensus. Historical Essays on Toronto, ed. V.L. Russell (Toronto, 1984): 41-68.

At the provincial level, however, to be Orange was not necessarily an advantage to the Protestant Irish. When James Gowan[62] got wind of a forthcoming appointment he became concerned about his previous connection with the Orange Order. He requested Ogle Gowan to return any correspondence in which he had expressed his views on Orangeism, "for it would enable me to put my conduct in a correct and consistent point of view with those whom I respect."[63] He made an oblique reference as to why he had become critical:

> the operation of it [the Orange Order] was not confined to the original and legitimate objects that members in many instances acted in direct opposition to the true principles of the Order.[64]

Differences of opinion existed among Irish members of the order as to its proper function. Approval of the political activity of its Grand Master, moreover, was not unanimous.

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[60] Ibid., 48-49.

[61] See Chapter 4.

[62] James Gowan was born in Wexford in 1815 to an Anglo-Irish gentry family. He arrived in Upper Canada with his family in 1832. Gowan was called to the bar in 1839. He was appointed a district judge by Robert Baldwin.

[63] Gowan Papers, James Gowan to Ogle Gowan, 31 Oct. 1842.

[64] Ibid.

Ogle Gowan was not conservative enough for many of his supporters. He was a political opportunist. In 1839 his independent stance and support of responsible government, in the interests of furthering his personal political advancement, had resulted in dissension from within the Order.[65] In 1846 he lost his position as Grand Master to George Benjamin who led the ultra-conservative Tory element within the Orange Order. Gowan, ever resourceful, sought an alliance with moderate conservatism and John A. Macdonald.[66]

The 1850s brought a decade of increased religious tension. Protestant fear of French-Canadian dominance was aggravated by the huge numbers of Irish Catholic famine immigrants. The poverty and crime which was seen to accompany them was characterised as indigenous to their nationality, a result of their intemperate and violent temperament.[67] As anti-Irish sentiment escalated in Canada

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[65] H. Senior, "Gowan, Ogle Robert," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 10 (Toronto,1972),311.

[66] Ibid.,311-12. In 1853 Gowan suceeded in being re-elected as Grand Master of the Orange Order. A schism resulted, however, when Benjamin formed a separate Grand Lodge of British North America. After several years of internal factional backbiting Gowan relinquished his position to effect a reunion of the Lodges under the fresh leadership of George L. Allen in 1856.

[67] See G. Parr, "The Welcome and the Wake, Attitudes in Canada West toward the Irish Famine Migration," Ontario History 66(June 1974):101-113; Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropoloty 2,No.1(Feb.1965):19-40; and J.M. Clemens, "Taste Not, Touch Not; Handle Not: A Study of the Social Assumptions of the Temperance Literature and Temperance Supporters in Canada West between 1839 and 1859," Ontario History 64 (Sept.1972):142-60.

West, Irish Protestants sought to dissociate themselves from a negative, stereotyped image of the Irish in general and deflect attention onto their Catholic countrymen.

Northern Irish Protestants sought to re-emphasise their Protestantism and their loyalty, as individuals and as Orangemen. At an Orange soiree in 1854, the Reverend J.G. Armstrong spoke of the Orange victory at the Boyne and declared the institution to be as glorious as it ever was:

> We have now a mighty interest in the land of our adoption ... in 1838,[sic] when Rebellion dared to raise her head ... British troops were not needed here. We have now too a duty to perform. Let us resist the encroachments of Romanism, she is awake, she is in the field. Look around! do you not see the Jesuits walk our streets in broad daylight with the darkness in their looks and thoughts?[68]

The Orange Order assumed a special role as the shock troops of Protestantism in Canada West.[69] In the words of Orange song writer, Benjamin Warren:

> Tis coming quick on Orange tide,
> And soon will the truth our councils guide.
> Saint of this land, oh hear our prayers
> Give us thy blessing, with Protestant airs,
> Blow breezes blow, Orange at last
> The hope of our country stand to it fast.[70]

A "Great Irish Meeting" was held in Toronto in February 1856, in disapproval of proposed emigration of Irish

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[68] United Empire, 21 Feb.1854. The Tory United Empire, founded in 1852, was in 1854 owned and edited by Ogle Gowan. It ceased publication in 1855.

[69] The Grand Orange Lodge in 1854 amended the Constitution with a provision for the expulsion of any Brother who married a Roman Catholic or allowed his children to be educated in a Roman Catholic institution. Report of the Proceedings of the 28th Annual Session of the Right Worshipful The Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution of British North America (Toronto,1857),16.

[70] Benjamin Warren, A Collection of Loyal Songs and a Number of Love Songs, etc. Together Anecdotes, etc...,237.

Catholics from the United States to Canada. Mr. Holland in his address, contrasted the contribution of Irish Protestants to Canada with that of Irish Catholics:

> The Irish Protestant comes here with his joyousness, versatility, frugality and social habits.... But the Irish Papists come in swarms.... Their numbers increase the arrogance of the priests, and forms an element of political strife ... were it not for them our Poorhouses, Jails, Penitentiaries and Magdalen Asylums would be far less necessary.... They are excitable and riotous....[71]

All the elements of the stereotype of the Irish appeared in Holland's speech. Irish Protestants reiterated and perpetuated the stereotyped image of their Catholic countrymen in Old Ontario. By the same token they also cemented a stereotyped and sectarian image of themselves.

The Orange Order also sought to sharpen the contrast between Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics. Sectarian clashes between Orangemen and Catholics during the 1850s reinforced the stereotype of the violent and alcoholic temperament of Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant alike. The Order became concerned with the respectability of its image. Violence was condemned and temperance extolled. As one Orangeman put it in 1856: "We want a hall in order to take away the stigma that Orangemen [are] men who meet in a tavern with a hip hip....[72] In July 1859 Nassau Gowan[73] reminded his Loyal Orange Brethren that it was illegal to carry firearms. "There is another way," he continued,

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[71] Leader, 9 Feb.1856.
[72] Leader, 25 Feb.1856. See also Lockwood, Montague, 21-28.
[73] Nassau Gowan, Ogle Gowan's son, was a New Connextion Methodist minister. He was Secretary to the Grand Lodge of British North America.

> in which our Great Commemorative Celebrations are .... disgraced. I allude to the practise, happily confined to a few ignorant and vicious men, of drinking improper toasts, and of using improper language towards Romanists.[74]

Orange leaders officially denied that the Order provoked sectarianism, or that it was deliberately offensive towards their Roman Catholic countrymen. The image of the Orange Order was indeed a contradictory one.

By the 1860s, the Orange Order had become a Canadian institution. The increased non-Irish membership of the Order during the 1850s was a sign that the Order had achieved public acceptance, if not total respectability.[75] The Orange Order, beyond an emphasis on its glorious Irish origins, was Canadian rather than Irish in its orientation:

> Canadian issues, not Irish history provided the nourishment Irish affairs at the Grand Lodge was infrequent. Direct financial aid to the Protestants in Ireland was even more infrequent. As the century progressed fewer Orangemen could claim direct acquaintance with Ireland. Myth replaced fact and orangeism provided that myth.[76]

An immigrant Irish society had been transformed into an influential political pressure group, especially at the local level. The essence of Orangeism, its conservative Protestantism, found fertile ground in the Canada West of the 1850s, which was fearful of Catholic domination. Irish Protestants, both Reform and Tory, were characterised by their political aggression. The assertiveness of Irish

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[74] Leader, 5 July 1859.

[75] See Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, 34-37. The period 1854-1860 saw unsurpassed growth in the number of warrants issued to lodges in Canada West.

[76] Houston and Smyth, The Orange Order, 20.

Protestants in the political sphere was matched by their fervent evangelicalism in the Protestant denominational churches of Old Ontario.

IV. IRISH EVANGELICAL FERVOUR IN OLD ONTARIO

Religion was an important factor in defining the identity of any group of people in nineteenth century Ontario.[1] Its importance on a personal, social and political basis cannot be over-emphasised. Religious divisions went far beyond a basic split between Protestant and Catholic, or even between the main Protestant denominational groups. The fine shadings of religious differences were revealed among several groups within any one denomination. Protestantism was an umbrella term which covered a complex web of religious identities. The Anglo-Irish gentry elite were predominantly Anglican, while the northern Irish comprised Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians. This chapter examines the Irish dimension within the Protestant denominational churches of Old Ontario.

The activism of an evangelical conviction was the most pervasive element which characterised the Protestant Irish. It was an important part of the identity which they brought from Ireland. Each affiliation brought its individual contentions and dissensions to Canada, and made a distinctive imprint on the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. There is evidence to suggest that a connection was maintained by the Irish with denominational bodies in Ireland, in terms of both clerics and funds, and also of evangelical support for missionary work in their native land. These factors were instrumental in perpetuating a distinctly Irish spectrum of Protestant religious attitudes and traditions in Old Ontario.

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[1] S.F. Wise has argued that the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic Churches of Old Ontario were important forces for social and political conservatism. S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," Profiles of a Province. Studies in the History of Ontario. Edited by Ontario Historical Society (Toronto,1967),25.

The Anglican Church in Upper Canada assumed exclusive privileges based on the view that it had been given special status as the state church by the imperial authorities in 1763, 1775 and later confirmed in the Canada Act of 1791.[2] It claimed exclusive jurisdiction in the spheres of education and marriage. Its special privileges were based on control of the clergy reserves, the lease of which was intended to provide the clergy with a regular income in lieu of tithes.[3] The claim of exclusive Anglican control of the Reserves was successfully challenged in the 1820s, by the Presbyterians. The Methodists, taking a voluntarist position, opposed state support for religion. The clergy reserves became the central issue in the debate on church - state relations in Upper Canada.[4]

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[2] J.J. Talman, "The Position of the Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1840," Canadian Historical Review 66, No.4 (Dec.1934):361-75. Talman argued that the so-called establishment of the Anglican Church was questionable, as the point of contention must centre on the 1791 provisions and the extent to which they were implemented. P.367.

[3] See J.S. Moir, The Church in the British Era. From the British Conquest to Confederation (Toronto,1972),114.

[4] Moir has characterised the settlement of 1840 as creating a "pluralistic Protestant establishment". Moir, The Church in the British Era,125. The matter was taken up again in 1849 on the question of a complete separation of church and state which monopolised politics in Canada West during the 1850s. See J.S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West. Three

The Anglican Church in Upper Canada faced several problems. It had difficulty in retaining its immigrant adherents on the frontier, more particularly as the highly developed itinerant system of the Methodists was successful in claiming many converts.[5] The class structure within the Church of England, moreover, was not in accord with the social climate of the backwoods where its influence was weak.[6] The Anglican laity did not deign to support their ministers and consequently there was an acute shortage. Funds were often solicited from Britain although this became increasingly difficult as the Church in Canada moved towards separation from the mother Church.[7]

The evolution of the Anglican Church in Old Ontario was shaped to a large extent by the Irish Protestant influences brought to bear upon it. The Anglo-Irish gentry transferred the close identification with the Church which they had maintained in Ireland. The numeric proportions of its clergymen and parishioners who were Irish determined this profile; moreover a distinctly Irish theological tradition resulted in a split between Low and High Church convictions. "By accepting at face value the title 'Church of England' in Upper Canada, scholars have missed the point that the Canadian branch was as much an outgrowth of the Irish

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[4] (cont'd) Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867 (Toronto, 1959), chapter 3.

[5] S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto, 1948), 103-106.

[6] Ibid., 126-27.

[7] The synod of Toronto marked the beginning of an independent Canadian Anglican Church in 1858.

Established Church as it was of the English."[8]

The union between the Churches of England and Ireland, effected under the political Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800, was more theoretical than real. The established church in Ireland maintained its sense of a separate identity and mission. A distinctly Irish theological tradition and administrative system, in addition to the emergence of an evangelical wing, characterised the conflicts and changes within the episcopal church in Ireland after 1800. Moreover its supremacy was perceived to be undermined by both the Catholic threat and the high-handedness of government intervention in its affairs from Westminster.

In Ireland the established Church served a minority. There was a lack of communication and social gulf between its prelates and many of the clergy and laity. A laxness in the fulfillment of clerical obligations was also apparent. The spiritual needs of many Irish Anglicans were not met adequately.[9] An impending sense of crisis gathered momentum. "The gulf between what the Church of Ireland professed to be and what it was, was so great that the whole communion existed in a state of institutional anxiety."[10] The tendency of lower class Anglicans to join non-conformist denominations[11] was an added threat for the established Church in the years of religious controversy between Protestants and Catholics before the famine. The Church was forced to undergo changes, both spiritually and structurally, as the nineteenth century progressed. By the 1820s an evangelical ethos which paralleled that of the Presbyterians and Methodists had developed within the Irish Church.[12]

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[8] D.H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario. A Study in Rural History (Kingston, 1984), 264.
[9] See D. Bowen, The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-1870. A Study of Protestant-Catholic Relations Between the Act of Union and Disestablishment (Dublin, 1978), 39-47.
[10] Ibid., 47.

The spirit of evangelical fervour extended past the functions of pastoral care and also animated the activities of special agencies. The Hibernian Church Missionary Society and the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practise of the Christian Religion (APCK) were among those agencies promoting missionary and educational work.[13] In the early 1830s an anti-spirits movement emerged in Ireland.[14] It was predominantly Protestant and upper class in composition, directing its efforts to the reform of lower class Catholics.[15] The

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[11] Bowen, The Protestant Crusade, 61-62.

[12] D.H. Akenson points out that the movement "was neither a unitary nor a unified one," and that "it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the Church could be described as predominantly evangelical." D.H. Akenson, The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution,1800-1885 (New Haven,1971),148.

[13] See Akenson, The Church of Ireland, 134-145.

[14] The American temperance movement had reached Ireland in 1829. By the 1840s it had been transformed into a mass movement under the Capuchin monk, Father Mathew, for moral regeneration through total abstinence.

[15] See Elizabeth Malcolm, "Temperance and Irish Nationalism," Ireland under the Union: Varieties of Tension. Essays in Honour of T.W. Moody, eds. F.S.L. Lyons and R.A.J. Hawkins (Oxford,1980),69-114, especially 69-75.

Hibernian Temperance Society, founded in Dublin in 1830, declared that the "unhappy propensity of our countrymen to the use of ardent spirits is one of the chief causes of pauperism, disease and crime prevalent in Ireland."[16] Evangelical agencies carried a millenarian urgency to their benevolent efforts among the Catholic Irish poor; their proselytism was based on the conviction that only biblical strictures could release men from the bondage of darkness and sin. These evangelical agencies involved the laity of both sexes in the work of the Church. J.C. Beckett has argued that this participation had a social as well as a religious significance.[17] It enhanced the collective identity of Irish Anglicans through a closer involvement with their Church, and fostered a sense of responsibility towards their non-Anglican countrymen. "In short, they felt themselves to be engaged in a great task for the glory of God and the welfare of Ireland."[18]

Administrative reforms which had been implemented from within the Church of Ireland since 1800 made little impact on its structure.[19] The Irish Church underwent close scrutiny and became the subject of parliamentary debate at Westminster. Skepticism as to the efficacy of its organisation and resources led to a series of imposed reforms. The Tithe Composition Acts of 1823 and 1824 were an attempt to allay the hostility of the majority Catholic population on the payment of tithes to the established Church, no less than to alleviate clerical impoverishment due to the withholding of payment.[20] The Church Temporalities Act of 1833[21] reduced the number of episcopal seats, abolished the vestry cess and cut back on appointments where there were insufficient parishoners to warrant them. The result was an ever increasing surplus of ordained ministers which could not be absorbed by the Church.

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[16] Hibernian Temperance Society, Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting; Held at the Rotunda, on 7 April 1830 (Dublin, 1830), p.18, quoted by Malcolm, "Temperance and Irish nationalism," on p.71.

[17] J.C. Beckett, The Anglo-Irish Tradition (Ithaca, 1976), 104-8.

[18] Ibid., 107.

[19] A detailed discussion of this can be found in Akenson, The Church of Ireland.

Upper Canada was seen as an outlet for unplaced clergy. In 1832 the Archbishop of Dublin sought information from John Strachan, the Archdeacon of York, about opportunities for Irish clergymen who were contemplating emigration.[22] A group of Anglican clergymen subsequently travelled to Canada on the chartered *Anne of Halifax* in the summer of 1832. Reverend Benjamin Cronyn[23] and Dominic Edward Blake[24] were among the party on board (which also included various related members of Anglo-Irish gentry families). By 1840 thirty-one of the ninety-one Anglican clergymen in Upper Canada were Irish, and twenty-four of those were graduates of Trinity College, Dublin.[25]

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[20] Akenson, *The Church of Ireland,* 103-11.

[21] For an assessment of the Act's significance see Akenson, *The Church of Ireland,* 177-79.

[22] D. Swainson, "Blake, William Hume," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 9(Toronto,1972),55.

[23] Benjamin Cronyn (1802-1871) was born in Kilkenny. He received a BA from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1822 and an MA in 1825. In 1832 on his arrival in Upper Canada he settled in London. Cronyn was elected Bishop of Huron in 1857, and was the driving force behind the establishment of Huron College in 1863.

[24] Dominic Edward Blake was the eldest brother of William Hume Blake. He became rector of Adelaide.

In Upper Canada Irish clergymen, however, found themselves faced with many of the same problems they had left in Ireland, including competition from the Methodists for the allegiance of lower class Irish Anglicans,[26] hostility to the principle of an established Church, and a Church in financial need. Clerical salaries were in fact paid by a number of different church societies; the most important was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which supported, for varying lengths of time, at least forty-two Irish evangelical missionaries in Old Ontario between 1830 and 1870.[27]

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[25] J.J. Talman, "The Clergy of the Church of England in Upper Canada Prior to 1840", Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, (1839), cited by J.I. Cooper, "Irish Immigration and the Canadian Church Before the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 2, No. 3, (May, 1955), 14.

[26] Reverend Thomas Greene, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, (1834) arrived in Canada West in 1836 and wrote of the Irish settlers at Walpole: "The Irish settlers in this place were originally all members of the Church, but in the absence of her ministrations joined themselves to the Methodists." W.J.D. Waddilove, ed., The Stewart Mission (London, 1838), 206; Clark, Church and Sect, quoted on p.106. For a discussion of Greene's missionary work see T.R. Millman, "The Letters of Thomas Greene, 1836-1841," in Some Men and Some Controversies, ed. R. Ruggle (Erin, Ont., 1977), 29-47.

[27] Calculated from List of S.P.G. Missionaries, 1701-1897 of Irish Parentage, Ordained in Ireland or Educated at Trinity College Dublin, Compiled from the "Digest of S.P.G. Records," (Dublin, 1897); and from H. de Vere White, Children of St. Columba. A Sketch of the History at Home and Abroad, of the Irish Auxiliary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Dublin, 1914), Appendix A, Library of the Church

Appeals to Ireland for both funds and clergy were made privately by individuals among the laity and formally through the Church. Stafford Kirkpatrick, while living in Peterborough, was deeply involved in the building of the church there.[28] Donations were sent from Ireland at his request.[29] A worrying debt remained upon on the church's completion in 1837 and Kirkpatrick discussed possibilities of getting money through Irish connections at Oxford or Cambridge. "I am aware," he wrote, "that the claims of my own poor country are so great that little can be spared to foreign lands."[30]

Aid for the Anglican Church in Canada was, nevertheless, solicited in Ireland. In 1837 Benjamin Cronyn went on a formal deputation to Ireland to raise funds.[31] In 1846 two Irish ministers, Richard Flood and Frederick O'Meara, both involved in Indian mission work, visited Ireland while in the British Isles to raise money for church building.[32] Benjamin Cronyn, following his consecration as Bishop of Huron at Lambeth Palace in London in 1858, went to

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[27](cont'd) Representative Body, Dublin. These included the Reverends Benjamin Cronyn, James McGrath, John Hincks, Michael Boomer, John Travers Lewis, and James Carmichael.

[28] QUA, Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder A, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 30 May 1835; Folder B, 29 May 1836; Folder B, 8 March 1837; Folder B, 27 March 1839; Folder B, 4 Sept. 1839.

[29] QUA, Kirkpatrick Papers, Folder B, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 29 May 1836.

[30] QUA, Kirkpatrick Papers, Stafford Kirkpatrick to Alexander Kirkpatrick, 8 March 1837.

[31] James J. Talman, "Cronyn, Benjamin," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 10(Toronto,1976),206.

[32] T.R. Millman, "O'Meara, Frederick Augustus," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 11(Toronto,1982),653.

Ireland where he recruited Reverends Edward Sullivan, James Carmichael and Philip du Moulin to serve in Canada West.[33]

In Upper Canada Irish clergymen were predominantly Low Church in matters of practice, theology and discipline. Austerity was the key-note of their ministry, "an austere liturgy, an even more austere theology."[34] It was rooted in abhorence of the ceremonial "vanity" of Roman Catholicism so keenly feared in Trinity College, Dublin. They also brought the spirit of evangelism endemic among Irish Protestants. Joseph Singer, one of the leaders of the evangelical party within the Established Church in Ireland, was Regius Professor of Divinity during the 1820s and 1830s. D. Bowen has suggested that, "Singer's influence was widely spread among young churchmen";[35] therefore it is likely that the emigrant Trinity graduates who subsequently came to Upper Canada brought the Irish missionary fervour which stressed the preaching of biblical truth. Their Irish ethnicity heightened a belief in the importance of Protestantism as a civilising force in the new world. It also shaped their determination to prevent the spread of Romanism in Old Ontario, and their distaste and fear of the High Church element within the Anglican Church in Upper Canada.

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[33] Talman, "Cronyn," 207. These three Irishmen later became Bishops of Algoma, Montreal and Niagara respectively.

[34] Clive Clapson, "John Travers Lewis. An Irish High Churchman in Canada West," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 22(Oct.1980),18.

[35] Bowen, The Protestant Crusade,67.

This Irish evangelical sentiment, which has been characterised as "an ethnic and academic combination,"[36] took particularly strong roots in the south-western part of the province. Benjamin Cronyn, who began his career as Rector of London, was the central figure among this Irish clerical group which included Charles Crosbie Brough and Michael Boomer.[37] The Irish Low Church evangelicals soon came into conflict with Strachan in Toronto and his High Church sympathisers in the eastern end of the province. Strachan sought to uphold the exclusiveness of the Anglican Church. He stressed Anglican rational devotion and was critical of the fundamentalist enthusiasms of the Methodists.[38] Irish Low Church evangelicalism, in his eyes, closely resembled Methodist fervour. Strachan consequently expressed dissatisfaction with his Irish clergy to the Archbishop of Dublin as early as 1836:

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[36] Clapson, "John Travers Lewis", 18.

[37] Charles Crosbie Brough manned the Anglican mission station at Penetanguishene from 1838 until 1841. The anti-Catholicism which characterised Brough's Irish Low Church evangelicalism, and that of his sucessor Frederick O'Meara, led to poor relations with Jean Baptiste Proulx, the priest at the Roman Catholic mission station on the island. On his resignation Brough went to London. See R. Bleasdale, "Manitowaning: An Experiment in Indian Settlement," Ontario History 16,(Sept.1974):152-53; and D. Leighton, "Proulx, Jean Baptiste," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 11,714-15. Both Edward Sullivan and Philip du Moulin were curate to Brough in London on their arrival in Canada West. Philip du Moulin further cemented this Anglo-Irish connection by marrying Brough's daughter. R.J. Renison, "Edward Sullivan," Leaders of the Canadian Church, ed., Wm. Bertal Heeney (Toronto,1918),206. Michael Boomer was the son of a northern Irish linen manufacturer. He graduated from Trinity college, Dublin and came to Canada West in 1840 where he settled at Galt. In 1872 he moved to London where he was appointed principal of Huron college whose council he had sat on since 1863. J.T. Talman, "Boomer, Michael," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 11,89-90.

[38] David Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty,1815-1850," PhD Thesis, Carleton University,1982,106.

> With the exception of one Clerical Gentleman introduced to me by Your Grace, the clergymen who came to this country from Ireland are strangely Calvinistic in their sermons - & go much farther than those who are called Evangelical in England. Some of them have also a foolish fancy of Preaching without rites - they brandish a little bible in their hand.... I am really afraid to allow them to preach for they seem never to have known the distinctive principles of the Church of England or to have thrown them away on the voyage.[39]

The tone of Strachan's criticism may also have been a reflection of Irish-Scottish animosities.

The spectre of Tractarianism[40] drove a deep wedge between the two parties and divided the Anglican Church on matters of church practice, education, and episcopal elections. Passions were easily excited on the question of ritualism which plagued the Canadian Church.[41] In 1842 the Diocesan Theological Institute at Cobourg opened its doors to prospective Anglican clergymen. The need for a local theological seminary to ensure an adequate supply of suitable clergy trained to meet the needs of the Canadian Church had been propounded by Strachan.[42] Opposition to the seminary came from the evangelical party as rumours spread throughout the diocese that "unhealthy Tractarian notions were being propounded at Cobourg, that the principle was teaching those favourite doctrines of the Oxford men, Baptismal Regeneration and Apostolic sucession."[43] The hostility of nearly a decade against Cobourg's theology, financial problems and questionable academic standards, finally resulted in its closure and the creation of an alternative.

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[39] PAO, Strachan Letter Book, 1837-1839, Strachan to Archbishop of Dublin, 28 April 1836, in Clark, Church and Sect, quoted on p.122.

[40] The Oxford Movement (1833-1845) within the Church of England aimed at restoring the High Church Caroline ideals of the seventeenth century, especially a higher standard of worship. The ideas of its proponents, led by John Henry Newman, were disseminated through the Tracts for the Times (hence Tractarianism). Newman's conversion to Catholicism in 1845 alarmed many Churchmen, not least Irish Low Church Anglicans.

[41] The Tractarian belief in reverence through ritual was a major point of contention within the Anglican Church in Canada. "The hostile could interpret novelties in ornament or ritual as concrete evidence of a drift to Rome. A doctrine might be accepted whereas its expression in symbol would be opposed." C.F. Headon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement upon the Church of England in Eastern and Central Canada, 1840-1900," PhD Thesis, McGill University, 1974. See also F. Peake, "Unity and Discord. A Study of Anglican Tensions in 19th Century Ontario", in Some Men Some Controversies, 101-29.

In 1852 the University of Trinity College, Toronto, was established as a new church institution of higher learning. It too, however, was soon to be the focus of bitter controversy between the Low and High Church groups. In 1861 a controversy over the curriculum of Trinity College, Toronto, had been instigated by Cronyn who laid charges of tractarianism and unsound teaching. The establishment of Huron College in 1863 fulfilled Cronyn's wish for a theological school based on strictly Protestant and Evangelical principles.[44]

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[42] See J.D. Purdy, "John Strachan and the Diocesan Theological Institute at Cobourg,1842-1852," Ontario History 65,No.2,(June 1973):113-123.

[43] Ibid., 122.

[44] See Talman, "Cronyn, Benjamin," 207-208, and Peake, "Unity and Discord," 108-111.

The issue of High and Low Church divisions also arose in relation to the proposed new diocese of Ontario. During the 1850s Francis Hincks had campaigned on behalf of his brother, Thomas Hincks, a minister in Belfast. High and Low distinctions were a sensitive issue among the Irish laity, most particularly the Anglo-Irish gentry. Robert Baldwin, in reply to a query regarding his position from his son-in-law John Ross, declared:

> I am ... rather a High Churchman as I understand the distinction between High and Low Churchman, though I trust without bigotry or intolerance. I make this remark en passant lest you might be under a different impression. And in fact heartily deprecate all these "issues" in matters of this character.[45]

In February of 1854 Baldwin found out why he had been questioned as to his views. In mild rebuke he replied

> I cannot however, but express my sense of the delicate consideration which Mr. [Francis] Hincks shewed towards me in not wishing me to be applied to on the ground as that he thought my Church inclinations decidedly high....[46]

Baldwin's approval, nevertheless, of Thomas Hincks for the position may be an indication of ethnic solidarity. He noted that he had heard Hincks preach in Belfast when he had visited Ireland.[47] It certainly is an indication that the shadings of both Low and High Church inclinations within the tradition of the Irish Established Church were transferred to Old Ontario.

The election of Benjamin Cronyn in 1857 to the newly drawn diocese of Huron compounded the party divisions within the Anglican Church. Cronyn had been instrumental in negotiating the formation of a new diocese and had assisted in the raising of funds for the £10,000 episcopal endowment.[48] He was well known to the clergy in that part of the province and Cronyn's success over the rival candidate A.N. Bethune, who was supported by Strachan, is of some significance in relation to the issue of an Irish ethnic influence at work. The number of Irish clergy voting may have been a contributing factor to Cronyn's success.[49] A closer look at the voting figures, however, reveals that the clerical vote was very even. As Cooper has pointed out, "it was the lay vote which was given decisively in his favour, twenty-three to ten."[50] The Irish laity was apparently predisposed to select a new prelate on the basis of his Irish ethnicity. In 1865 Colonel Burrows, having toured the deaneries of Huron with his father-in-law, Bishop Cronyn, observed: "Many of the clergy being Irish there is much of the tone of the Irish Church in this Diocese."[51]

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[45] Baldwin Papers, Robert Baldwin to John Ross, 21 Dec.1853,
[46] Baldwin Papers, Robert Baldwin to J. Ross, 15 Feb.1854.
[47] Ibid.

When the diocese of Ontario was actually established in 1861, the final two candidates were an Irishman, John Travers Lewis, and Bethune. The Irish clergy rallied in support of their fellow countryman. "He has been elected by the canvassing and manouvering of an Irish party," observed Bishop Fulford of Montreal.[52] It has been inferred that Lewis proved a disappointment to many Low Churchmen as he quickly identified himself with the High Church party.[53] Lewis was the product of the contemporary Trinity College, Dublin. During the 1840s Trinity had seen a revival of the Caroline tradition in the Church in Ireland.[54] This tradition emphasised the sacraments and ecclesiastical polity, an intellectual position which had an affinity to Tractarianism and which was essentially High Church in tone. "That Lewis was associated with the Caroline tradition of the Church of Ireland can hardly be doubted."[55] Although both Cronyn and Lewis were Irish graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, they were of a different generation intellectually.

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[48] Talman, "Cronyn,"206-7.

[49] See Talman, "Cronyn", 207. C.F. Headon, however, is more cautious in his interpretation, and argues that to characterise the election as a Low-High Church contest is to oversimplify. He suggests that other issues such as Cronyn's disagreement over the wisdom of financial and academic independence in the secular university of Toronto were involved. Headon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement," 190.

[50] Cooper, "Irish Immigration and the Canadian Church," 15.

[51] A.H. Crowfoot, Benjamin Cronyn, First Bishop of Huron (London, Ont.,1957),109.

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[52] Bishop Fulford of Montreal to Rev. Ernest Hawkins of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1861, quoted by Headon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement," 172.

[53] Clapson, "John Travers Lewis,"

[54] For a comprehensive treatment of the Irish Caroline Church see F.R. Bolton, The Caroline Tradition of the Church of Ireland with Particular Reference to Bishop Jeremy Taylor London,1958). The Irish Caroline tradition of the seventeenth century was embodied in the works of James Ussher which enjoyed a revival of interest. It was used to justify the position of the Established Church in nineteenth century Ireland. The legitimate authority of the Established Church stemmed from its Apostolic roots. The "true Catholic Church of Ireland" had been founded by St. Patrick and had remained free of the errors of "Roman Schism", as defender of the fundamentals of faith.

[55] Clapson, "John Travers Lewis," 29. See also K.C. Evans, "The Intellectual Background of Dr. John Travers Lewis, the First Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto," Historic Kingston, (Feb.,1975): 37-45, and D.M. Shurman, "John Travers Lewis and the Establishment of the Anglican Diocese", in To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century, ed. G. Tulchinsky (Montreal,1976),229-310.

The Irish Anglican ministers who came to Upper Canada shared a common background as members of the Anglo-Irish gentry as well as in the years spent at Trinity College, Dublin. A large proportion of them had Low Church evangelical inclinations which ran contrary to the Church principles upheld by Strachan. The constrasting Evangelical and Caroline traditions within the established Church in Ireland were transfered to Old Ontario. They are a reminder that the Protestant Irish immigrant laity, too, was coming from an evolving Church within a rapidly changing society in Ireland.

An evangelical ethos was brought to Old Ontario by Irish Methodists no less than by their Anglican countrymen. Their Irish missionary fervour found a ready home in the backwoods of Upper Canada. A large number of Irish-born preachers were to be found throughout all Methodist groups. Methodists were divided on the subject of church-state relations rather than theology. Moreover, their divisions were not aggrevated by ethnic conflicts.

In Ireland Wesleyan Methodism was predominant, claiming by 1791 about 14,000 adherents served by sixty-seven preachers on twenty-nine circuits.[56] Primitive Methodists were a small group and continued to receive the sacraments within the Anglican church.[57] Methodist evangelicalism had an outlet in the Methodist General Mission founded in 1799.[58] Irish Methodist immigrants to Upper Canada found a complex arrangement of rival branches of the Methodist Church. There is limited information on their assimilation. J. Burnet has suggested that, "Irish Wesleyans seem to have accommodated easily, often joining with the Methodist Episcopal Groups."[59]

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[56] James Godkin, Ireland and Her Churches (London,1867),105-06, cited by Bowen, The Protestant Crusade, on p.34.

The early Methodist church in Upper Canada was an off-shoot of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.[60] Among the first Methodists to come to Upper Canada were a group of Irish Palatines.[61] In 1785 the Heck, Lawrence, and Dulmage families settled in Augusta township where they shared and promulgated Methodist worship in the community. William Losee, the first itinerant Methodist preacher to come over the border in 1790 and 1791, preached at the home of Barbara and Paul Heck.[62] The Canadian circuits north of the border formed a separate district from 1794, which was later subdivided as settlement progressed. The War of 1812, however, caused tensions for the Methodist community as a large number of its preachers were American. In the years after the war, moreover, the British Wesleyan Methodist Mission began to make inroads in Canada.[63] Competition for souls led to antagonisms between the two main branches of Methodism in Upper Canada.[64] Nevertheless, a union was effected between the two groups in 1833, the Methodist Episcopal Church having become independent of the American Conference in 1829.[65]

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[57] Bowen, The Protestant Crusade, 34.
[58] Ibid., 35. See also D.N. Hempton, "The Methodist Crusade in Ireland, 1795-1845," Irish Historical Studies 22, No.85 (March 1980): 33-48.
[59] J. Burnet, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada, (Toronto, 1972), 104. J.D. Hoover has drawn attention to the presence of the Irish in one of the smaller branches of Methodism, the Primitive Methodist Church, arguing that many of these Irish were "either former Wesleyans or former Presbyterians." J.D. Hoover, "The Primitive Methodist Church in Canada, 1829-1884," M.A. thesis, 1970, 69, quoted by Taggart, "The Irish Factor," on p.169.
[60] See J.E. Sanderson, The First Century of Methodism in Canada, vol.1, 1775-1839 (Toronto, 1908).
[61] They had emigrated to New York and subsequently to the Camden Valley, from County Limerick in 1760, and migrated to Canada among the United Empire Loyalists. To Their Heirs For Ever (Belleville, Ont., 1977).

Henry Ryan,[66] an Irish preacher who had come to Canada from the United States in 1805, was one of the main protagonists for the independence of the Methodist Episcopal church. Ryan was, moreover, critical of his church; he maintained that it had lost its evangelical momentum and its democratic ethos.[67] In 1827 Ryan, in impatience, broke away to form the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church.[68] Ryan seems to have commanded the allegiance of many Irish Methodists on his departure. A strong sympathy for Ryan was subsequently noted in the Cavan area, due to the activities of Irishman Moses Blackstock.[69] Blackstock, a class leader, was subsequently ordained, then, from 1835 to 1837, he affiliated himself with the New Connexion Conference. In 1840 he withdrew and united with the Wesleyan Conference.[70]

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[62] Ibid.,273.

[63] See Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics. The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1885 (Toronto,1962),70-74; Burnet, Ethnic Groups, 100-101; and Clark, Church and Sect,199-202.

[64] Such a situation was deplored by Edward Johnston, an Irish Methodist preacher from County Tyrone, who having spent only a few months in Canada during 1818 returned home to Ireland in protest. N. Taggart, "The Irish Factor in World Methodism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," PhD dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast,1981,182-87.

[65] In 1840 the Wesleyans' desire for a share of the clergy reserves revealed a fundamental difference of attitude between the two Methodist groups on church-state relations. A reunion was nonetheless brought about in 1847. See Moir, Church and State,8-9.

[66] Ryan was Presiding Elder of the District of Upper Canada 1810-14; the Western District 1816-18; and Bay Quinte District 1821-23. G.H. Cornish, Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada: Containing Historical Educational and Statistical Information, Dating from the Beginning of the Work in the Several Provinces of Canada, and Extending to the Annual Conferences of 1880 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House; Halifax: Methodist Book Room,1881),47.

Irish Methodist preachers were to be found within the three main branches of Methodism in Upper Canada. Norman Taggart has compiled from Cornish's *Cyclopaedia of Methodism* some figures which show a fairly even distribution.[71] Taggart also refers to a list of 170 ministers, described as"the fruit of Irish methodism", which appeared in The Christian Guardian in 1866. A preponderance from County Fermanagh is evident among the 164 whose county of origin in Ireland is known.[72] In 1877 Nicholas Flood Davin declared, "In the Methodist Church Irish ministers are so numerous that one is tempted to doubt whether that body had any other."[73] Most certainly the exodus of Methodist preachers from Ireland matched that of their countrymen in the Anglican ministry.

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[67] French, *Parsons and Politics,*76.

[68] See French, *Parsons and Politics,* 75-76, and Sanderson, *The First Century* 1, 224-26. From 1864 it was known as the Methodist New Connexion Church in Canada.

[69] Clark, *Church and Sect,*203.

[70] Taggart, "The Irish Factor,"165; Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism,* 68,461.

[71] It must be pointed out that in referring to Canada the figures below apply to all of British North America. "The Irish-born element in some of the various branches of Methodism in Canada was as follows - for the ME Church in Canada, 11.6 percent (23 ministers out of 198) in 1834, when a union took place within Methodism; for the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, a total of 12.54 per cent (132 ministers out of 1,045) in 1874, when another union took place, and for the Methodist New Connexion Conference, 11.61 percent (36 ministers out of 310), also when the union of 1874 took place." Taggart, "The Irish Factor in World Methodism," 168-169.

At least three Irish-born Methodist ministers wielded influence through an editorial pen. For nine years, from 1860 to 1869, The Christian Guardian was edited by Wellington Jeffers, whose family had come from Cork.[74] Jeffers' editorship was succeeded in 1869 by Edward Hartley Dewart.[75] William McClure, a New Connexionist preacher from County Antrim, who had begun his ministry in Canada West in 1848, became editor of the New Connexion paper, The Evangelical Witness in 1865.[76]

The Methodist system of worship was based on the premise that lengthy and continuous contact reaffirmed the message of salvation.[77] The Irish seem to have adapted to the roles of local preachers and class leaders in the new world. James McDonald, an Irish tailor, became a local preacher within the Augusta circuit in 1824.[78] Like Moses Blackstock in Cavan, Thomas Bowes, who emigrated from Ireland in 1826, was a class leader in Trafalgar.[79] In 1855 an Irish Methodist wrote of his experience at a camp meeting:

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[72] Ibid., 167-168. To put these figures in perspective Taggart notes that there were only 167 Methodist preachers in Ireland in 1866.

[73] N.F. Davin, The Irishman in Canada, (Toronto,1877),629.

[74] Taggart, "The Irish Factor,"191-92; Cornish, Cyclopaedia of Methodism,107.

[75] Taggart "The Irish Factor,"192-93.

[76] I.C. Pemberton, "McClure, William," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 10,455.

[77] G.M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years,1784-1841 (Toronto,1963),106.

> I do admire and esteem these, to me, peculiar means of grace. In Ireland we had them not.... The camp-meeting I account as one of the highest privileges this trans-Atlantic clime affords.[80]

Irish Methodist evangelicalism flourished in Old Ontario.

Irish Methodists were appreciative of a shared Irish ethnicity with the itinerant preachers who came to their district on circuit. John Huston, an Irish Methodist Episcopal minister on the Richmond Circuit 1829-1830, "'took' at once most wonderfully with his fellow countrymen, the Irish, of those settlements."[81] In 1855 Joseph Carrothers recounted for his brother in Ireland the visit of "Reverend Caughy [sic] an Irishman by birth" to London the previous winter:

> He stopped better than two months. He held services in the new Wesleyan church.... Many were ad[d]ed to the [Church] in the town and neighbourhood and in this part of the country. The flame was kindled and some of the lost was found.[82]

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[78] Sanderson, The First Century,2,162.
[79] Sanderson, The First Century, 1,387.
[80] Sanderson, The First Century,2, quoted on p.104.
[81] J. Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, 3, 274, quoted by Taggart, "The Irish Factor,"166.
[82] PRONI, T 1886/2, Joseph Carrothers to his brother William Carrothers, 15 June 1855. Presumably, this was the well-known Reverend James Caughey who came from the United States to preach in Canada during the early 1850s. French,

Methodists from Ireland were aware of the new-found evangelical zeal of the 1850's in Ireland. Joseph Carrothers, for instance, noted in 1855:

> Dawson Dane Heathers visited London in his tour through Canada raising money to support the Reformation in Ireland. he got 210 pounds in London I heard ... his arrival not been made public ... He had success in all the towns he visited.[83]

In 1864 the Reverend Robinson Scott addressed the Wesleyan Methodist Conference while in Canada on a mission to seek aid for the Irish educational system.[84] That same year the Conference expressed this sentiment:

> We hold ourselves under obligation to the labours of our Irish brethren for many of the most valuable men in our church and ministry in this country, ~~from~~ its early history to the present time.[85]

There was clearly a connection in religious feeling and reciprocal action between Irish Methodists in Canada and in Ireland.

The evangelicalism of Irish Methodists merged with that of the Methodist congregations which they joined in Upper Canada. The fervour of Irish evangelicalism was not an issue in a church which was already evangelical. In fact, the dissension of Henry Ryan in the 1820s was in part based on the accusation that the Methodist Church in Upper Canada had lost its evangelical enthusiasm. Irish ethnicity was an

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[82] (cont'd) Parsons and Politics, 258; Sanderson, The First Century, 2, 1840-83; passim. It is significant that it was Caughey's Irish ethnicity which was of importance to Carrothers.

[83] PRONI, T 1886/2, Joseph Carrothers to his brother William Carrothers, 15 June 1855.

[84] Sanderson, The First Century, 2, 192-94.

[85] Minutes of the Canadian Wesleyan Conference 1864, 106, quoted by Taggart, "The Irish Factor," 196.

important part of the religious identity of Irish Methodists and they continued, moreover, to identify with Methodism in Ireland.

In Ireland, Presbyterianism was predominantly an Ulster phenomenon. Its adherents, because of the voluntary nature of their church, "tended to draw from the social classes in the middle of the social spectrum."[86] In the early years of the nineteenth century Presbyterians were divided into two main groups: those who followed the Synod of Ulster, and those who adhered to the Secession Synod which had been formed in 1788. It represented a dissenting element within the Synod of Ulster which not only opposed the role of the Crown in the appointment of ministers, but also wished for a revival in Presbyterianism and a more evangelical ministry.[87] Attempts at unity were finally realised in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland in 1840 but from the turn of the century Presbyterians manifested a conversionist evangelicalism; moreover prosleytism was acceptable from the 1820s.[88]

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[86] Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 267.
[87] W.T. Latimer, A History of the Irish Presbyterians (Belfast,1902),2nd ed.,322-77.
[88] David Miller, "Presbyterianism and Modernization in Ulster", Past and Present 50(1978):60-90 argues that the switch from the prophetic evangelicalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the conversionist brand of the nineteenth was a reaction to the incipient modernising influence of the industrialisation of Ulster.

In Upper Canada a variety of Presbyterian groups established themselves. The earliest Presbyterian organisation in Upper Canada was secessionist in origin. The United Presbytery of the Canadas was formed in 1818.[89] By 1829 it had eighteen ministers in Upper Canada of whom two-thirds were secessionist. At least three of these came from the Secession body in Ireland. John Harris established the first Presbyterian Church in York in 1820; in 1821 Robert Boyd arrived in Prescott, and by 1824 William King had a congregation at Burlington.[90] The secessionist United Synod of Upper Canada was established in 1831.

The Church of Scotland had made its way to Upper Canada by 1829,[91] The rival Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Connection with the Church of Scotland was in place by 1831. The two bodies, however, formed a union in 1840. In 1832 the United Secession Church of Scotland had sent missionaries to Upper Canada.

The divisions and relations among the various branches of the Presbyterian church which established themselves in Upper Canada, do not shed much light on the affiliation of Irish Presbyterian immigrants. Early Irish Presbyterians in Canada, frequently finding themselves isolated in the backwoods of Upper Canada, often could not retain their sense of exclusiveness from other Protestant denominations:

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[89] This represented, in the individuals who came together, a variety of Presbyterian traditions including Dutch Reformed, both the Scottish Associate and Relief Secessionists, American Associate and Church of Scotland. J.S. Moir, Enduring Witness. A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (n.p.,n.d.),70.

[90] Ibid., 71-72.

[91] See P. Russell, "Church of Scotland Clergy in Upper Canada: Culture Shock and Conservatism on the Frontier," Ontario History 73,No.2(June,1981):82-111.

> Mr. Aikens ... was a grave and godly Presbyterian from the north of Ireland who finding no fellowship but among Methodists ... cast in his lot with that people.[92]

In 1833 Reverend William Proudfoot, a Scottish United Secession missionary, was aghast to find Mr. Harris, the Irish Presbyterian minister in Toronto, allowing Methodists to partake freely in communion![93]

The Irish Presbyterian immigrants carried their prejudice against the Scots with them to Upper Canada. Within Presbyterian congregations dissensions between the Irish and Scots resulted in open conflict based on ethnicity. An Irish Presbyterian minister, McLatchey, had established a congregation in London, when Reverend William Proudfoot arrived in 1832.[94] Reverend William Proudfoot recorded in his diary in 1834 how the Irish and Scots had come to loggerheads over the location of a church:

> There was a full turn out especially of the Irish.... There was some appearances of disorder. I was under the necessity of interposing urging the propriety of good humor and calmness and insisted that the question should be, where should the house be in order to afford the greatest numbers an opportunity of hearing the Gospel. I could not get them to keep this in mind. It was just the Scotch and the Irish, each was determined not to submit.... It was ultimately brought to a vote and the Irish were left in the minority.... Forthwith the Irish declared they would no more attend.[95]

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[92] J. Carroll, Case and his Cotemporaries, vol.2, quoted by N. Taggart, "The Irish Factor,"165.

[93] Quoted by Burnet, Ethnic Groups,104.

[94] F.B. Ware, History of Cronyn Memorial Church London, Ontario: 1873-1949 (St. Thomas, Ont.,1949),6.

[95] Quoted by Burnet, Ethnic Groups,103.

Proudfoot intimated that it was the evangelical activism of the Irish, irritating to the Scots, that was at the root of such antagonisms.[96]

Irish Presbyterians appear to have followed the renewed vigour of the evangelical movement in post-famine Ireland with some interest. In the atmosphere of heightened religious controversy in Canada West during the 1850s, the activity of evangelical missionaries in Ireland was seen as a worthwhile endeavour. In 1859 a fund raising deputation from the Irish Presbyterian Church arrived in Toronto. One of the deputies, Rev. Mr. Edgar, delivered a sermon on the origins and spread of the "revival" in the North of Ireland in Knox's Church on November 27. The Leader remarked on the very large assembly, "Every available seat in the spacious edifice was occupied, so numerous was the congregation and many even had to stand during the services."[97]

Irish Presbyterian immigrants to Upper Canada found an atmosphere which was probably less congenial to the transfer of their religious identity than either the Anglicans or Methodists. Those who adhered to the secession tradition in particular found it to be incompatible with that of the Scots. Their fervent evangelicalism distinguished Irish Presbyterians and was the basis of a continued identification with religious developments in Ireland.

In conclusion, the Irish made a significant impact on the development of the Protestant denominational churches of

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Leader 28 Nov.1859.

Old Ontario, both in terms of clerical numbers and an evangelical tradition. Within each of the three denominations, Irish clergy constituted a distinct and separate element which reflected the transfer of their religious identity to Old Ontario. They infused an evangelical spirit and maintained a virulent ideological hostility to Catholicism. The aggressiveness of Irish Protestants prompted a reaction from the Irish Catholic community in Upper Canada. That reaction largely shaped the identity of Irish Catholics in Old Ontario.

V. A GOOD IRISHMAN, A GOOD CATHOLIC: A LOYAL CANADIAN?

The Irish Catholic community in Old Ontario projected an increasingly strident and cohesive sense of identity from the 1820s through to Confederation. It was a reaction which sprang from the hostility against them, not only because they were Irish, but because they were Catholic. "Anti-Catholicism was multifaceted: it had a theological face and a social demeanour, as well as a political aspect."[1] It was fuelled by Irish Protestants, who emphasised their Protestantism over their Irishness, in their bid to integrate themselves in Upper Canada. The very existence of Orangeism - not to mind the seeming toleration of the Order's activities by the government - was an emotive force for Irish Catholics. In reaction to the Orange - Tory alignment Irish Catholics supported the Reform movement during the 1830s and 1840s. They saw the Reform party as the vehicle by which they might gain acceptance. By the 1850s the Irish Catholic community became disillusioned with the Reformers; the expanding Catholic Church became the focus of Irish identity. In marked contrast to the aggressive profile of Irish Protestants, the Irish Catholic identity was a defensive one.

Early Irish Catholic lay spokesmen, often speaking through the press, defended the identity of the Catholic

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[1] J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," Canadian Historical Review 56,No.4,(1985),474.

Irish by focusing upon the proper behaviour of the Irishman. By the 1850s, when sectarian tensions had reached their height in the Canadas, the emphasis shifted to the rights of the Irishman as a Catholic. The Catholic Church in Canada West took up political activism, which paralleled its support of French Canadian nationalism in Canada East, to mould the culture of the Irish Catholic community and ensure its separate education. During the 1860s the Catholic Church instructed the laity that its identity lay in Catholicism; the community was exhorted to be good Catholics, good Irishmen and, finally, good Canadians.

It was this trinity of loyalties which, either implicitly in the earlier period or explicitly by the 1860s, underlay the identity of the Irish Catholic community in Old Ontario. In a British and Protestant society, heavily laced with an Irish Protestant viewpoint, the compatibilty of those loyalties was often suspect. The support of Irish Catholic leaders for the Reform movement led to suspicions of disloyalty which were not easily dissolved due to the connection between the radical priest William O'Grady and William Lyon Mackenzie. Irish Catholic criticism of the British government's treatment of the Irish at home could also be interpreted as showing an implicit sympathy for Republican attitudes which were an anathema in Upper Canada. In periods of crisis Irish Catholic loyalty was 'put to the test', thereby forcing Irish Catholics to stress their proven loyalty to their adopted country.

This chapter traces the developing identity of the Irish Catholic community through a study of its ideas, rhetoric and self-perceptions. A continuing identification with Ireland, moreover, was an important factor in the professed identity of the Irish Catholic community, both before and after 1850. The weight of emphasis, however, will be on the pre-famine period, when these views emerged.[2]

Irish Roman Catholics formed a small minority of the early population of Upper Canada.[3] The first of the pre-famine Irish Catholic immigrants comprised a mixed group, one which did not represent the stereotype of the immigrant Catholic Irish from the 1840s. Edward McMahon became Chief Clerk in the Lieutenant Governor's office in 1812.[4] Anthony Manahan, who arrived in Upper Canada in 1820, became manager of the Mamora Iron Works, involving himself in a small farming and lumber business on the side. In 1829 Manahan became Justice of the Peace for the Midland District, and in 1831 he was appointed a Colonel in the local militia.[5] In Bytown Daniel O'Connor, a successful merchant, served as a magistrate during the 1830s. Irish Catholics of some means and education, such as William Bergin,[6] a civil engineer from Kings county who settled in York, were most certainly among the nascent mercantile and professional class emerging in the 1820s. It was these well-to-do or educated Irish Catholics who provided leadership for the Irish Catholic minority.

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[2] Historians of the Catholic Irish in Old Ontario have paid little attention to the prefamine period. The time frame, 1847-1870, of an MA thesis by Daniel C. Conner, "The Irish-Canadian and Self-Image, 1847-1876," University of British Columbia, 1976, is typical of this tendency. The importance of their Catholicism to the Irish is seen only in relation to the Church which did not come into its own as a religious, social and cultural organisation until the 1850s and 1860s; See for example articles by Murray E. Nicholson: "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity," Histoire sociale/Social History 17, No.34 (nov./Nov.1984):287-306; "The Irish Catholics and Social Action in Toronto, 1850-1900," Studies in History and Politics/Etudes d'Histoire et de Politique 1(Fall, 1980):30-54; and "Six Days Shalt Thou Labour: The Catholic church and the Irish Worker in Victorian Toronto," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1983. It is not until this period as well that the Catholic Irish have been seen as an important variable in the political balance of power. The importance of the Irish Catholic famine immigration as a watershed is not undermined, but rather emphasised, in criticism of this view. The contention here is that the 1850s and 1860s did not see the creation of an Irish Catholic identity but rather its crystallisation.

[3] Irish Roman Catholics (including Irish-born and first generation) comprised approximately nine per cent of the total population by 1842. D.H. Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish," Canadian Papers in Rural History 3, ed. D.H. Akenson (Gananoque, 1982)213,220.

In 1823 and 1825 two groups of Irish Catholics, whose immigration was assisted by the British government, arrived in Upper Canada under the direction of Peter Robinson.[7] The immigrants of 1823 settled in several townships surrounding the village of Scotts Mills which later became Peterborough; those of 1825 settled in the Bathurst District south of the Ottawa River. In his study of the settlement pattern of the Catholic Irish of the 1825 Robinson settlement Alan Brunger has suggested that it was affected by strong family and community ties, transferred from Ireland.[8] Adult members of nuclear families generally chose contiguous locations. Larger families initially settled, therefore, on the open northerly edge of the settlement areas.[9] Moreover, emigrants from four main Irish parish communities showed a preference for locations in close proximity.[10] Canada was a new land with the promise of material improvement and an escape from social disorder. As one Irish Catholic among the Peter Robinson settlers put it: "...I think it fine field for Industry and I am very thankful to government for send me [sic]."[11]

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[4] J.K. Johnson, "Anthony Manahan, and the Status of Irish Catholics in Upper Canada," *Historic Kingston,* No.31(Jan.1983),40.

[5] Ibid.,34.

[6] G.M. Adams, ed., *Prominent Men of Canada. A Collection of Persons Distinguished in Professional and Political Life. And in the Commerce and Industry of Canada* (Toronto,1892),410.

[7] The plan was devised in London by Sir Robert John Wilmot-Horton, Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs. Peter Robinson was engaged through his brother, John Beverley Robinson, Attorney General of Upper Canada, to organise the scheme. Peter Robinson spent some time in Ireland selecting these settlers who came from the Blackwater River area of Southern Ireland. See Peter L. Maltby and Monica Maltby, "A New Look at the Peter Robinson Emigration of 1823," *Ontario History* 55,No.1(1963):15-21; Wendy Cameron, "Selecting Peter Robinson's Irish Emigrants," *Histoire sociale/Social History,* No.17,(mai/May,1976):29-46.

It is, however, clear that from the 1820s there was an expatriate impulse within the Irish Catholic community, in contrast to the Orange Irish community, and this impulse focused attention on the injustices suffered by the Irish at home. In January 1829 the Society of the Friends of Ireland in Bytown was established to raise funds for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland. Membership was open to persons of "every religious denomination and class." Daniel O'Connor declared at the first meeting, "we will let the world and British Nation know that the flame of liberality has been extended to Upper Canada...."[12] His terminology reflected the viewpoint shared by both Catholics and many Protestant Whigs in contemporary Ireland. An "Address to the Inhabitants of U.C." drawn up in March, called upon their countrymen to form Emancipation societies throughout the province:

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[8] Alan G. Brunger, "Geographical Propinquity Among Pre-Famine Catholic Irish Settlers in Upper Canada," Journal of Historical Geography 8, No. 3 (1982):265-282.

[9] Ibid.,275-76.

[10] Ibid.,277-79. Attention has also been drawn to a "kith and kin" factor by G. Ferguson, "The Peter Robinson Settlers in Emily Township 1825-1861," MA Thesis, Queen's University,1979. See also J.J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, (Toronto,1974),chapters 2 and 3. Mannion argues that, in comparison to the Irish background of rural settlement (pp.33-36), there was no evidence of joint farming or of any tendency to cluster, for instance, at the corners of contiguous lots.

[11] PAC, Microfilm A632, Questions Addressed to the Irish Settlers of 1823 and 1825 in Upper Canada and Their Answers.

> Why does the Irishman of U.C. look with apathy and indifference on the exertions that are making all over the Globe,[sic] to make Ireland as she ought to be, *great*, *glorious* and *free*? does he imagine that his loyalty to his King and country would be questioned? is he afraid of incurring the displeasure of those who would still cherish the hope of perpetuating his country's disgrace.... Let him come forward and show himself in the true characteristic of a man who deserves well of his country.[13]

Ireland's progress, it was implied, depended on the efforts of her expatriate countrymen in Upper Canada.

The presence of a growing number of Orange Lodges in Upper Canada during the 1820s outraged Irish Catholics. They represented the spectre of a sectarianism that had seemingly followed them across the Atlantic. Irish Catholic merchant William Bergin had, in 1823, sponsored a petition to secure legislation in the Assembly to outlaw Orangeism.[14] The issue was taken up by his Anglo-Irish countryman, William Warren Baldwin, who served on the committee to draft a bill. The subsequent failure of the bill was an indication to the Irish Catholic community that self-protection was the only immediate defense they had against provocation from their Orange Protestant countrymen in Upper Canada.

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[12] PAC, MG 24 I 107, Daniel O'Connor Papers, Minutes of Meetings of Society of the Friends of Ireland in Bytown U.C., 11 Jan,1829 to 22 April,1829.

[13] Ibid. The minutes of Easter Sunday, 1829 recorded the news of the Catholic Relief Act in Ireland, "rendering any further meeting of the Society unnecessary."

Clashes between Orangemen and Catholics became a fact of life in Upper Canada for Irish immigrants. Violence invariably erupted on the 17th of March, St. Patrick's Day, to be avenged on the 12th of July. If violence was adopted by Irish Catholics in self-defense, it was also evoked by their retaliatory provocation of Irish Protestant Orangemen. Catholics, however, claimed that violence was instigated at the hands of Orangemen. The reprehensible activities of Orangemen, they argued, were regarded with virtual impunity by the enforcers of the law in the province. Not only were Catholics victims of sectarian animosities, but also victims of prejudice and injustice under the law.

The Catholic interest press, in reporting instances of sectarian violence, frequently noted that the magistrates were slow to take action or use the military, and loath to arrest Orangemen. On the other hand it was charged that Irish Catholics were dealt with unfairly in the courts. J.K. Johnson has drawn attention to the important role played by an Irishman, Col. James Fitzgibbon, in his capacity as Assistant Adjutant General of Militia as a mediator in disturbances among the Irish.[15] As early as 1824, in his investigation of riots among the Robinson settlers at Perth, Fitzgibbon implied that prejudice existed among many magistrates against the Catholic Irish. His report did not absolve the Catholics for their participation, "but laid the principle blame for acts of violence upon the Orangemen, particularly those of the Deputy Sheriff's party."[16] In 1830, however, a public meeting of Roman Catholics in York sought redress for:

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[14] PAO, Journals H.A., 17 Feb.1823,xii,123; 19 Feb.1823, part 4,xi,321,cited by H. Senior, "The Genesis of Canadian Orangeism," Historical Essays on Upper Canada, J.K. Johnson, ed. (Toronto,1975),244.

> the slanderous statement of James Fitzgibbon, an apostate, in his certificate ... in which he charges that body with "having made arrangements" to violate the law and disturb the public peace by "offering resistance to Orangemen."[17]

Clearly Fitzgibbon's impartiality as magistrate was not always appreciated by the Irish Catholic community.

Responsible individuals within the Irish Catholic community attempted to assume some leadership in quelling imminent violence. P. Maguire, a magistrate in Cavan

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[15] J.K. Johnson, "Colonel James Fitzgibbon and the Suppression of Irish Riots in Upper Canada," Ontario Historical Society 58, (1966): 139-155. Fitzgibbon was a Roman Catholic who had converted to Anglicanism while in the British Army. He fought under Brock in the War of 1812 and then remained in Upper Canada. Johnson ascribes "a mystic hold and a benefical influence over the Irish of Upper Canada" to Fitzgibbon.

[16] Ibid.,144.

[17] Canadian Freeman, 22 July 1830.

Township, reported in July 1830 that in anticipation of a bloody 12th he had:

> ... with the assistance of the intelligent Catholics of this neighborhood, advised the Catholics to remain quiet and assured them that government will interfere if necessary which interposition I am happy to say had the desired effect and prevented any unpleasant collision.[18]

Maguire, in expressing his annnoyance at the Orange preparations for the 12th, had noted his brother magistrate to be "a good deal tainted with that prejudice."[19] It is doubtful that many Irish Catholics had much faith in government intervention on their behalf.

On July 12, 1833, Catholics confronted Orangemen in front of the court house in York and a riot broke out. "An Irishman", in a letter to the editor of the Catholic Canadian Correspondent, condemned the authorities for their tolerance of such an outrage. He pointed out that Orange leaders maintained that they would have kept their resolve not to walk, "had it not been for Catholics getting up separate societies, especially on the 23rd March 1832, headed by their Bishop and other leading Catholics in York."[20] Although the letter considered this excuse of the Orangemen erroneous, it argued that:

> the Catholics and their Bishop would have acted much wiser had they let all kind of party business sink into oblivion, and to impress on the minds of their fellow subjects that difference of religion should be no bar to brotherly love.[21]

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[18] PAC, RG 5 A1, Upper Canada Sundries, C-6870, 57172-74, P. Maguire to Z. Mudge, 19 July 1830.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Canadian Correspondent, 13 July 1833.
[21] Ibid. Ironically, this was the period when Macdonell and

Catholic priests also felt that the legitimate execution of their pastoral duties was not only treated with disrespect, but even actually subverted by the authorities. Rev. W.P. MacDonald of Kingston in 1830 made an appeal to the magistrate on behalf of a widowed mother of one Catholic and the wife of another. Both men had been jailed for beating up an Orangeman. The ensuing hostility against his actions led him to bring the case to the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne:

> ... to show your excellency how difficult it is for me and my brother clergymen to show the feeling of Fathers and Pastors towards our Flocks, without giving offence, while this Party Spirit and excitement to irration are allowed to exist in the Province.[22]

The proper role of the Church and behavior of Catholic priests in relation to sectarian divisions and strife was a contentious issue. For many Catholic Irishmen, however, the issue was not so much the indifference of the authorities, but rather the aggressiveness manifested by the Orange Order.

One of the most outspoken critics of the Orange Order in the Catholic community was Colonel C.J. Baldwin,[23] cousin

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[21] (cont'd) Ogle Gowan maintained public unity.

[22] Upper Canada Sundries, C-6870, 57734-36, Rev. W.P. MacDonald to Colborne, 7 Sept.1830.

[23] Connell James Baldwin (1777-1861) was born in the County of Cork. He fought in the Peninsular War, gaining the rank of Captain. From 1826 to 1828 he commanded a regiment in Brazil to serve under Emperor Pedro I. One of the men he commanded, Father William O'Grady, was among those 216 men who followed him to Canada in 1828. Baldwin received a land grant which totalled eight hundred acres. He served as a justice of the peace, and as a Colonel in the militia, 1835-51. A moderate Reformer, he withdrew as a candidate in the 1841 election.

to Daniel O'Connell the Liberator, and relative of the William Warren Baldwin family. In 1837 he gave an extensive public exposition on the evils of Orangeism. His letter of February 8 appeared in the Correspondent and Advocate. It was the first of two lengthy responses on the subject of an Orange procession in the Toronto Gore on the previous 12th of July. The line of march, Baldwin declared, had been altered to touch on the corners of his farm in order to insult and intimidate him personally. The Orangemen he continued, "then ... halted opposite a Catholic Church, recommenced drumming and fifing and playing party and offensive tunes, and a shot or shots were fired towards the church."[24] In condemning the lack of resolute action against Orangeism in the province, Baldwin declared

> The object of the Orange faction chiefs and serfs in this province is the same as that of their brethren in Ireland - the shedding of blood and the attainment of controlling power - to obtain this they are indefatigable recruiting and trying to add to their numbers, under any and every pretence....[25]

The Orange faction, he prophesied, would effect a baneful domination of the province.

It was the falsehood of the Orangemen's professed loyalties that Baldwin as a Catholic, Irishman and Canadian deplored. "Are we prepared to give them up the palm of exclusive loyalty, and to be considered and treated as only half-loyal and doubtful subjects?" he asked.[26] Baldwin drew on Irish history in pointing out the contradictions of the Orange Motto "pro Dea, pro patria, pro Rege":

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[24] Correspondent and Advocate, 8 Feb. 1837.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

> For the love of their country, they blotted its name from the list of independent nations.... For the love of their King, they were plotting his deposition!!! They swear conditional loyalty to him; they set his wishes and commands at defiance; and raise the flag of "no surrender" against him....[27]

The possibility of harmony between Orangemen and Catholics Baldwin dismissed as a false illusion. He attacked the Orange and Green alliance of 1832.[28] Bishop Macdonell and a few influential Catholics had, he charged, lent themselves to the Orange party, who now toasted "Bishop McDonnell, and to Hell with the Pope."[29] In his second letter, dated March 8, 1837, Baldwin's final stand on the issue was as a Canadian:

> But I cease to consider Orangeism as a mere party question - I look on it as a citizen wishing and determined as far as I can, to enjoy the privileges and independence of a subject of a free country.[30]

He did not want Irish history to repeat itself in the province.

The nascent Irish Catholic community of the 1820s and 1830s lacked the sustained leadership which characterised its Irish Protestant counterpart. It lacked an organisational structure to serve as a vehicle for ideas which could parallel the activities of the Orange Order in the Irish Protestant community. The Catholic Church had Scottish leadership; Bishop Macdonell was, moreover, a supporter of the Tory oligarchy in the interests of the Church. In this vacuum both the Irish Catholic and Reform interest press fulfilled an important role in defending Irish Catholics from nativist discrimination and injustice.

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[27] Ibid.

[28] For a discussion of this alliance see W.B. Kerr, "When Orange and Green United,1832-39. The Alliance of Macdonell and Gowan," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records 34(1942):33-42.

[29] Correspondent and Advocate, 8 Feb.1837.

[30] Correspondent and Advocate, 15 March 1837.

In Toronto the Canadian Freeman was founded in 1825 by Francis Collins, an Irish Catholic. Collins, until his death in 1834, identified the interests of Irish Catholics with the moderate Reform group surrounding liberal Protestant Irishman, William Warren Baldwin, and his son Robert. Irish Catholics, because of their experiences in Ireland, looked to those who represented the Anglo-Irish Whig tradition in Upper Canada. The grievances of the Reformers against the Tory oligarchy and their ideological hostility to Orangeism were reassuringly familiar to Catholics from Ireland. They hoped that the Reformers would, in the tradition of Irish liberals, defend them against anti-Catholic discrimination by the Tories.

In the late 1820s and 1830s any opposition was seen as disloyal. Irish Catholic loyalty was especially suspect in the climate of anti-republican paranoia which gripped Upper Canada.[31] "Reform" and "Republican" became intrinsically linked in the minds of Tories. They perceived any challenge to legitimate authority in the name of liberty as revolutionary activity.[32] When Irish Catholics, like those of Bytown, spoke of liberty for Ireland in their expatriate endeavours to further her progress, the spectre of disloyalty surfaced by way of association. In 1827 "Watkin Miller" declared that "a red-hot Irish Papist was a useful tool in the hands of the enemy: for to an Irish man of that sort (Papists) potatoes are not more natural and nourishing than treason and murder."[33] Francis Collins expressed the outraged reaction of the Irish Catholic community:

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[31] See S.F. Wise, "Colonial Attitudes from the Era of the War of 1812 to the Rebellion of 1837," S.F. Wise and R.C. Brown, ed., Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth-Century Political Attitudes (Toronto,1972):16-43.

> Is this not a petty reward for the Irish Roman Catholics now in the province, who fought and bled for their King and country under Wellington and Brock?[34]

Irish Catholics, foreshadowing the rhetoric of their Orange Protestant countrymen after the 1837 rebellion, claimed that their role in the War of 1812 had proved their loyalty to Upper Canada and the British connection.[35]

It had become clear that the field was open for an Irish Roman Catholic press which would reflect and protect the interests of its readers. As early as 1828 the prospectus for a new Irish newspaper, the Irish Shield, noted that it had been thus named at the request of many Irishmen in York.[36] "The Shield", it declared, "shall emphatically be an Irish paper; its sentiments will spring warm from an Irish heart and faithful to its fires." Its columns promised Irish history, biography and literature as well as the defence of Irishmen "from the calumnies and misrepresentations of prejudice and intolerance."[37] In November of the same year the Irish Vindicator, which claimed to represent Irishmen in both Upper and Lower Canada, was established in Montreal. The Vindicator promised to

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[32] See David Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty in Upper Canada,1815-1850," PhD Thesis, Carleton University,1982.
[33] Canadian Freeman, 6 Dec.1827.
[34] Ibid.
[35] For a discussion of the importance of the War of 1812 in the political rhetoric of the province see Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty," chapter 1.
[36] Canadian Freeman, 28 Sept.1828.

> support [Irishmen] when they are right, and to rebuke them if they should merit it, to defend them from their maligners and point out to them the ways by which men should advance in the paths of justice and integrity of industry and perseverance.[38]

The Catholic Irish then, not only needed leadership for their defence, but also as a guide for their behaviour in the new world.

The Catholic-interest press, however, faced constraints and difficulties in its endeavours. The constraints faced by all anti-Tory editors was illustrated by the charge of libel brought against Francis Collins in 1828 for a reference to the "native malignancy" of Attorney General John Beverley Robinson. For his protest against the ill-will shown towards immigrants by the Tories, Collins was fined and sent to gaol from where he continued to edit the Freeman.[39] Another major difficulty faced by the Catholic Irish organs seems to have been inadequate circulation. On the appearance of the Irish Vindicator in 1828 the Canadian Freeman commented ominously: "...from the acknowledged spirit and liberality of the Irish population in the Canadas, we trust it will be well supported."[40] In the spring of 1831, the Irish Shield called for subscriptions in arrears, pleading: "Let Irishmen give us a fair patronage."[41] In addition to the Reform party and the Catholic-interest press which supported it, the other potential source of leadership for the emerging Irish Catholic community in Upper Canada was, of course, the Roman Catholic Church.

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Prospectus of the Irish Vindicator printed in the Canadian Freeman 4 Dec. 1828.

[39] E. Firth, ed., Early Toronto Newspapers, 1793-1867. A Catalogue of Newspapers Published in the town of York and the City of Toronto from the Beginning to Confederation (Toronto, 1961), 5.

The rudimentary structure of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada undermined its potential to embody a cohesive sense of Irish loyalty and identity. It was only in 1826 that the diocese of Kingston, covering all of Upper Canada, was carved from the diocese of Quebec. In 1836 there were only thirty-five churches and twenty-two priests in Upper Canada.[42] The priests, like many of their Protestant counterparts, were itinerant preachers travelling huge distances. They held stations, traditional in rural Ireland, in Catholic homes on their route.[43] The metropolitan framework of the Catholic Church expanded with the formation of the dioceses of Toronto in 1841 and Bytown in 1847 to cater to the needs of increasing numbers of Roman Catholic immigrants.

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[40] Canadian Freeman, 27 Nov.1828.
[41] Canadian Freeman, Notice, 17 Feb.1831.
[42] W.R. Harris, The Catholic Church in the Niagara Penisula 1625-1895 (Toronto,1895),180.
[43] Ibid., 189-191.

Irish Catholics who arrived in Upper Canada during the 1820s and 1830s found an essentially Scottish Catholic Church under the direction of Bishop Alexander Macdonell.[44] Ethnic conflict was evident within the Catholic Church. Macdonell's close relationship with Anglican counterpart John Strachan, also a Scot and an influential member of the Tory oligarchy, must have engendered suspicion among the Irish. Scottish-Irish animosities arose between Macdonell and his priests. In 1831 Macdonell accused Rev. Murty Lalor of Kingston of "inflaming national prejudice against [his] Scots superiors."[45]

Individual Irish priests, rather than the church as an institution, provided spiritual comfort and leadership to Irish immigrants. Priests from Ireland were accustomed to fulfilling a multi-faceted role, social as well as religious. In Ireland the priest served as arbiter to protect the interests of his parishoners in landlord - tenant disputes and against the bureaucracy of the administration at Dublin Castle.[46] Religious tradition in

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[44] J.E. Rea, Bishop Alexander Macdonell and the Politics of Upper Canada, (Toronto, 1974).

[45] Kingston Disocesan Archives, Macdonell Letterbook, 1834-39, Macdonell to Lalor, 26 July 1831, in Michael S. Cross, "The Shiners' War: Social Violence in the Ottawa Valley in the 1830's," Canadian Historical Review 54, No. 1 (March, 1973), quoted on p.10, n.35. In the context of the Ottawa Valley ethnic tensions within the Church evolved around Irish - French rivalries. Cross notes: "Ethnic conflict was a subject on which the Church was particularly sensitive, and as a result the documents tend to be sketchy and evasive...." Ibid., 10.

[46] See W.J. Lowe, "The Lancashire Irish and the Catholic Church, 1846-71: The Social Dimension," Irish Historical

Irish rural culture, moreover, extended beyond the canonical; priests were attributed with special powers.[47] The special relationship between priest and people among the Irish in Canada was conceded by Macdonell himself: "I am [convinced] from the knowledge I have been able to acquire of the Irish character that an Irish pastor can best suit an Irish congregation."[48]

An Irish priest, William O'Grady, sought, from his arrival in 1828, to give the Irish of York both spiritual and political leadership. His Reform sympathies soon brought him and his Irish followers into conflict with Macdonell.[49] In 1828 Macdonell asked Alexander MacDonnell, one of the non-Irish elite of St. Pauls, York to keep an eye on the Rev. O'Grady: "I charge you to inform me if you discover anything objectionable in his moral or political character...."[50] O'Grady's defiance of Macdonell finally led to his excommunication.[51] In 1832 he became editor of the

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[46](cont'd) Studies, 20,No.78, (Sept.1976):129-55.

[47] D.W. Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," Journal of Social History, No.9(1975),89.

[48] Macdonell Papers, Bishop to Alexander McDonnell, 8 May 1828, Macdonell The Town of York,1815-1834. A Further Collection of Documents of Early Toronto. ed. E. Firth (Toronto,1960),193. See also Rea, Archbishop Alexander Macdonell,77.

[49] See Firth, The Town of York,lix-ix; and Murray W. Nicholson, "Six Days Shalt Thou Labour: the Catholic Church and the Irish Worker in Victorian Toronto," Paper Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association,1983.

[50] Macdonell Papers, Bishop Macdonell to Alexander Macdonell, 8 Dec.1828, in Firth, The town of York,193.

[51] Differences of opinion within the Irish Catholic community in York were underlined by the O'Grady dispute. The Canadian Freeman came out on the side of Bishop Macdonell while simultaneously denouncing the political structure of the province which Macdonell endorsed. See Rea, Bishop Alexander

Correspondent, owned by an Irish Catholic radical Reformer, James King, who was associated with William Lyon Mackenzie. In 1834 the Correspondent merged with Mackenzie's paper, The Advocate to become the Correspondent and Advocate. Both O'Grady and King, however, tempered their political activities as Mackenzie moved towards rebellion.[52] As Roman Catholics they were not prepared to be labelled as disloyal rebels; opposition was legitimate but rebellion was not.

When the Rebellion of 1837 shook Upper Canada, Irish Catholics remained loyal.[53] They joined militia companies, sometimes serving under Irishmen who were co-religionists. Peter O'Reilly[54] of Belleville, for instance, was appointed Captain of a company in the Hastings Militia Regiment.[55] Colonel C.J. Baldwin raised a corps of 1,200 men at his own expense.[56] Irish Catholics protected Canada's borders with their lives and proved their loyalty to be as steadfast as that of their Irish Protestant countrymen. Such a display of their faith in the constitutional system, strengthened their claims in support of Reform in Canada, and Repeal in Ireland, during the 1840s.

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[51] (cont'd) Macdonell, 97-113 for a thorough account of the dispute.

[52] Nicholson, "Six Days Shalt Thou Labour," 6-7.

[53] See Colin Read, The Rising in Western Canada, 1837-8: The Duncombe Revolt and After (Toronto, 1982), 183-4.

[54] Peter O'Reilly, from Westerport County Mayo, had emigrated in 1832. He was a merchant, and supported Robert Baldwin in the election of 1841. His son, James O'Reilly, was prosecuting attorney in the Whelan trial for the murder of Thomas D'Arcy McGee in 1868.

[55] N.F. Davin, The Irishman in Canada (London, 1877), 366.

[56] R.J. Stagg, "Baldwin, Connell James," Dictionary of Canadian Biography 9 (Toronto, 1976), 25.

The 1840s formed a watershed in the political evolution of Upper Canada. The Durham Report, and the subsequent Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, signalled the collapse of the rule of the Tory oligarchy. The Reform party in Canada West had lost its radical wing and now represented a wider political consensus in the years after the Rebellion. Throughout the decade, the Irish Catholic press,[57] although still actively supporting the Reformers, also turned its attention to political reform in Ireland. From 1846 it gave detailed coverage of the Repeal movement in Ireland, reprinting lengthy articles from Irish newspapers. Editorial comment glorified the march of liberty in Ireland. The sacrifices and heroes of Irish Repeal were hailed as inspirations for Reformers in Canada, and especially for Irish Catholics.

During the 1840s the defence of the Irish Catholic community became closely intertwined with the rhetoric and events of Reform politics. The Examiner in June 1844 carried a story -- captioned "Orange Outrage" -- on the description of a Reform meeting held at Bradford. George Duggan M.P.P., District Grand Master of the Orange Order, had arrived from Toronto at the head of the proverbial "two hundred Orangemen", armed with weapons.[58] During the period of the Oregon controversy in 1846 both Americans and Catholics were a target for Orange provocation. In July effigies of the President and the Pope were burnt at Newmarket.[59] The application of the term "Orange Outrage" by the Reform press in condemnation of the Order as a political pressure group was an extra line of defense for the Irish Catholic community.

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[57] The ranks of the Catholic press had expanded by the 1840s. The Mirror had been founded in 1837. It was published in Toronto by Charles Donlevy and edited by C.P. O'Dwyer. In Bytown Henry Friel directed the Packet in the Irish Catholic interest from 1846 to 1849, when he sold it to Robert Bell.

[58] Examiner, 12 June 1844.

Irish Catholic Reform opinion remained opposed to the new moderate Tories who emerged in the 1840s.[60] "Diabolus", in a poetic "Address of the Mirror Boy to his Generous Patrons", suggested that things had reached a pretty pass in 1845 when the Tories sought French Canadian support:

> When Draper, Daly, Viger, glorious juncto,
> Engross'd the powers and offices of state;
> Could Montreal, Quebec, and young Toronto
> Produce no more than this Triumvirate?
>
> Behold! ev'n, from the paltry "Peace Commission",
> Debased by many a rude unlettered clown,
> Is HINCKS excluded, for his prompt decision,
> At duty's call, to brave a despots frown.

The glorification of idealism in Ireland was presented as a contrast to the prostitution of principle in Canada:

> Turn we from scenes like these, across the ocean,
> Our own loved Isle, - our childhood's home to see,
> Where purer spirits burn with stern devotion,
> Determined, - resolute, their land to free.
>
> That land to free from foreign legislation;
> To gain their long lost Parliament once more,
> To see their country once again, a nation
> And banish vile oppression from her shore.[61]

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[59] Examiner, 29 July 1846.
[60] The Anglo-Irish leadership of the Reform party was more acceptable to Irish Catholics than that of the Scots or native Upper Canadians.
[61] Mirror, 6 Jan. 1846. Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland would restore Ireland's lost glory of 1782; this time the victory would, however, be that of the

The extent of active support among the Catholic Irish in Canada West for the Irish Repeal movement is unascertainable. Repeal organisation notices occasionally appeared in the Catholic Irish newspapers. It is probable that Repeal clubs or societies in Canada West were linked to the movement in Ireland. Daniel O'Connor of Bytown was member no. 6657 of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland.[62] Cooperation between these societies was envisaged as strengthening their cause. When the Repeal Society of Toronto, split by internal dissensions, failed to function, it was admonished by Repealers in Oshawa:

> We, who in distant localities gave a ready response to your invitation, and cheerfully united ourselves with you, as a parent society, deem we have a right, if not to rebuke, at least to desire you would enable us to redeem a position so proud as to call ourselves Irishmen, and too beneficient to our beloved country to be lost by the puerile contentious or mistaken theories of any isolated section of Repealers. [63]

Disagreement, endemic to Irish organisations, seems to have marred the united front of Irish Repealers in Canada West.

Support for Repeal became a more contentious issue in Canada West, as the principle of using physical force became a matter of debate in Ireland within the Repeal Association.[64] The July 1848 uprising in Ireland of the

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[61] (cont'd) Catholic nation.
[62] Daniel O'Connor Papers.
[63] Mirror, Letter to the editor from one of the Men of Oshawa, 17 Jan. 1846.
[64] On 28 July 1846 a split was revealed in the Repeal Association between O'Connell and the Young Irelanders. Young Ireland was a nationalist group which was formed in Dublin by Thomas Davis, John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy. The Irish nationalism which they propounded in the Nation was envisaged as embracing all classes, races and

Young Irelanders, and the consequent state trials, received respectful attention in the Catholic press of Canada West. The flame of Irish liberality had been extinguished. Of more immediate concern, however, was the fact that the rebellion had placed Irish Catholic loyalty in Canada under suspicion once again.

Irish Catholic opinion on the revolutionary inclination of the Irish in Canada did not always coincide in its private and public expression. In April 1848 Stephen de Vere[65] noted:

> There is a large body of Irish in Canada, seriously disaffected towards England, and inclined to fraternise with the U.I.... The feelings of the Irish Canadians are much changed since the last Rebellion here, when they were the most loyal people in Canada....[66]

Publically, the Catholic press denied all association or

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[64](cont'd) creeds, and would establish "internal union and external independence."

[65] Stephen de Vere, an Irishman from Adare, County Limerick, kept a letter book while in Canada West in 1847-48. A convert to Catholicism, de Vere came from an Anglo-Irish Protestant family of some standing. He worked among Irish Catholic famine immigrants in Canada West, and kept his uncle, Lord Monteagle in London, informed on the emigration issue. His letter describing his experiences on the trans-Atlantic voyage, was read in the House of Commons prior to the amendment of the Passengers Act.

[66] Trinity College Dublin, MS 5075 ~~a,~~ Letterbook of Stephen de Vere, Stephen Vere to Dowager Lady de Vere, 10 April 1848. The U.I. is presumably a reference to the Young Irelanders whom de Vere may well have associated in his own mind with the United Irishmen of the 1790s. De Vere considered that the stream of Irish labourers (unknown or unrecognised by Canadian officials) migrating to the United States had social and political repercussions for Canada. "Here is a political lesson. Every man of them instantly becomes a bitter enemy to England and [?] Anglo-Canadian connection --- becomes an American sympathiser, and ... through the relations which he carefully keeps up with his old country, contributes to increase Irish disaffection."

knowledge of illegal activity among Irish Canadians. The editor of the Packet declared:

> As a descendant of an Irishman the writer grieves for the miseries of Ireland, and feels that by persuasion or force her sons should have their rights; but as the Editor of a Canadian Journal, he studies alone the advancement of his own country.[67]

Unease was fanned by the rumours of Irish revolutionary activity in the United States and a projected assault on Britain from Canadian soil.[68] An editorial section in the Examiner, entitled "Threatened Invasion of Canada", sought to counteract the fear of an attack from across the border. It denied that the threats of O'Connor, Mooney and Company were worth a moment's notice. Moreover, the editor declared

> Canada is not Ireland, and if American - Irish sympathisers must interfere in Irish affairs, we would advise them not to mistake Canada for Ireland.... We tell them plainly they will find no sympathy here.[69]

The extent of Irish revolutionary sympathy or activity in Canada West in 1848 can only be surmised. The failure of the invasion to materialise released the Irish Catholic community from suspicion. The events of 1848, however, were to foreshadow the Fenian Scare of 1865-66 and illustrated the contentiousness of Irish political nationalism for the Irish Catholic community.

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[67] Packet, editorial, 20 May 1848.

[68] A young woman in Buffalo, for instance, who claimed she had the confidence of one of the conspirators who lived close by her, warned her uncle in Perth that he should prepare for an attack. "The Spirit of Rebellion is not quelled," she wrote, "it is now already rife in Canada, they have turned all their attention to Canada. Since they have been defeated at home, and have been holding private meeting [sic] in Canada, and these American Irish sympathisers are making vigourous efforts to assist in the Rebellion, and intend to appropriate this money that they raised for this purpose." Rhoda Ann Rose assured her uncle that she had not made a mistake nor was all this a farce. PAC, MG24, B76, Rhoda Ann Rose to William Matheson, 7 and 14 Dec.1848.

[69] Examiner, 23 Aug.1848.

The increasing concern with political events in Ireland reflected important social changes taking place in the province. The 1840s witnessed a watershed in the profile of the Irish Catholic community. That profile was radically altered by the huge influx of famine immigration in 1847.[70] From 1840 there was an increase in the number of Irish Catholic immigrants and in the proportion of landless labourers among them. Insecurity of employment and dangerous conditions, apart from the animosity of Irish Protestant labourers, awaited Irish Catholic immigrants seeking employment on public works. Factional groupings among Catholic Irish labourers lent an extra dimension to social and ethnic disorder along the canals and railroads of Canada West.[71] In 1847 approximately 70,000 Irish people arrived at Quebec.[72] They had a direct bearing on the consciousness of Irish Catholics in Canada West and were to have a considerable effect on the identity of that community.[73]

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[70] See Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 2,No.1(Feb.1965):19-40.

[71] See R. Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840's," Labour/Le Travailleur 7(Spring,1981):9-39.

[72] G.J. Parr, "The Welcome and the Wake, Attitudes in Canada West Toward the Irish Famine Migration," Ontario History 66,No.2(June 1974),101.

[73] Akenson sees the famine years as being the watershed in the changing type of Catholic Irish immigrant - from farmer to landless labourer - as the explanation for the economic and social cleavage among the Irish Catholics of Leeds and Landsdowne townships by 1871. In the countryside Irish

Along the canals feuds between Connaught men and Cork men were as common as those between the Irish and native Upper Canadians.[74] Violent antipathy between the two Irish Catholic groups erupted into furious battles. "One riot is the parent of many others," one observer noted, "for after one of their factional fights the friends of the worsted party rally from all quarters to avenge the defeat."[75] Such rivalry may be an indication of cultural transfer.[76] Contemporary investigators of Irish factional conflicts certainly believed that they had arisen because of adverse

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[73](cont'd) Catholics formed an elite sector in commercial farming, while in the village of Gananoque they were clearly a disadvantaged group with the highest proportion of unskilled workers among the population. This "rural - village dissonance", to use Akenson's terminology, formed a contrast to Irish Protestants whose post-famine immigrants - also increasingly less likely to be farmers - were higher on the occupational rung in the urban environment. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 326-31.

[74]For an example of friction between Irish canal labourers and local inhabitants, see the discussion of conflict at Cornwall in 1836 in Johnston, "Colonel James Fitzgibbon,"147-55. Irish-French Canadian hostility was also evident, especially from the mid 1830s along the Ottawa Valley where Irish raftsman, known as "Shiners", indulged in terrorist anarchy, not only against French rafters, but also the established community. By 1837, moreover, sectarian tensions had further complicated matters. See M.S. Cross, "The Shiners' War: Social Violence in the Ottawa Valley in the 1803's," The Canadian Historical Review 54(March,1973):1-26.

[75]PAC, RG 11-5, Welland Canal Letterbook, Samuel Power to Elliot, 28 Dec.1843, quoted by Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals,"p.22.

[76]David Fitzpatrick has analysed rural unrest in the parish of Cloone, County Leitrim. "Wherever demand for a benefit exceeded its supply, rivals in nineteenth century Cloone were strongly tempted to reinforce their claims through intimidation, factional combination and outrage." David Fitzpatrick, "Class, Family and Rural Unrest in Nineteenth-Century Ireland," Irish Studies and Ireland: Land, Politics and People (Cambridge,1982),45.

conditions and competition in a time of chronic underemployment.[77]

Factional disorder among the Catholic Irish was an extra source of embarrassment for the wider Irish Catholic community. It was an additional facet to the stereotyped image of Irish violence which they sought to counter. The Examiner was "most gratified" to hear that riots on the Welland Canal in November 1843 were not, as the St. Catharines Journal had previously reported, a stereotyped Cork-Connaught fracas.[78] A letter from the Rev. W.P. Donagh to the editor of the St. Catharines Journal had corrected the error, declaring the riot had ensued out of a dispute over the raffle of a watch.[79] The Irish Catholic community was always ready to deflect charges of violence made against it, especially because tensions with Orangemen continued to fester.

The Orange-Catholic hostility and outbreaks of violence which accompanied it were often used to judge the relative propensity to violence among Irishmen. An Orange excursion trip from Toronto to Niagara Falls in July 1844 had seemed provocation for bloodletting. A formidable group of Irish Catholic labourers -- reputedly 1,500 strong and armed, had collected along the Welland Canal. Violence was, however, averted when the Orangemen reached the Falls. The Examiner jubilantly proclaimed:

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[77] Bleasdale, "Class Conflict,"22-23. There is also evidence which suggests that Cork and Connaught united to make economic demands through strike action, most especially during the Lachine strike of 1843. Cooperation was, however, seemingly rare between these groups who formed separate Irish Catholic communities on the construction works in Canada West. "Class Conflict on the Canals,"25-28.
[78] Examiner 6 Dec.1843.
[79] Ibid.

> Had the case been reversed and the Catholics been in the position of the Orangemen, we have reason to believe, from the animus displayed by the latter on many public occasions, there would have been "no quarter" for the former, but a repetition of some of those scenes which in Ireland have been a blot upon our national character and a disgrace to humanity.[80]

Irish Protestant aggression was contrasted with Irish Catholic reasonableness in the face of considerable provocation.

By 1846 the attention of the Irish Catholic community was drawn to the famine in Ireland. The Catholic interest press drew attention to the first signs of crisis in Ireland, reprinting reports from the Irish papers which they received. Irishmen in Canada, irrespective of creed, were reminded that they had a duty to play in the alleviation of Irish distress. An Irishman, in a letter to the Examiner in May 1846, wrote:

> I have never been favourable to national societies, but if there ever was a time when they were required to work, and to show forth their charity, this is that time.[81]

The Mirror, in its call for Irish famine collections pointed out that it was not only an Irish question but one of humanity.[82]

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[80] Examiner, 17 July 1844.
[81] Examiner, 20 May 1846.
[82] Mirror, 8 May 1846.

By 1847 the full impact of the Irish famine became clear in Canada West. Influential Catholics, in the same spirit as their Irish Protestant counterparts, assumed leadership in organising funds to be sent to Ireland, and assistance for Irish immigrants arriving in Canada West. In Toronto Col. C. J. Baldwin had the names of contributors to the Irish Relief fund in the Gore of Toronto in the summer of 1846 printed in the Mirror.[83] In Bytown Daniel O'Connor was chairman of the local Board of Health "during the Emigrant fever disaster of 1847."[84] A reader of the Mirror, however, declared he was

> astonished to find that the sufferings and privations of those poor people, are so totally disregarded by the Irish inhabitants of Toronto.... When sir, some opportunity of making frothy speeches, and spouting national phenzy [sic], offers, we never find any lack of operators.[85]

The class divisions in the established Irish Catholic community were reinforced by the arrival of the famine destitute.

The famine immigration of Catholic Irish appears to have been an immediate cause of aggravation in relations between Catholic and Protestant Irishmen in Canada West. In Bytown, for instance, dissatisfaction was expressed that the newly constituted public Board of Health did not have adequate representation from the Catholic population. Only two of the eighteen appointed were Catholics. Protestants in Bytown in their turn charged the sisters of the General

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[83] Mirror, 3 July 1846.
[84] Daniel O'Connor Papers.
[85] Mirror, 2 July 1847

Hospital with proselytism.[86] In the midst of this controversy Daniel O'Connor was accused of turning Protestant. In reaction he wrote:

> I am the seed, breed, and generation of Catholicity.... My ancestors, from the time of St. Patrick, were Catholics, and my posterity will be so to the end of time....[87]

O'Connor's vehemence underlined the depth of feeling involved in the dispute. In such an atmosphere sectarian animosities were quick to come to the fore in Canada West.

In July 1847 the *Bathurst Courier* reported that once again Orangemen had staged parades:

> yesterday the feeling of a portion of our inhabitants were insulted by a display of party banners and music, contrary, on the part of those engaged in it, to all propriety and religion as well as to a *law of the land expressly prohibiting such processions.*[88]

In Guelph, Orange Catholic relations, which had been deteriorating since 1844, exploded in the summer of 1847. Dr. William Clarke, an Irish Protestant magistrate of Orange sympathies, was believed to be partisan in his judgement on repeated assault cases between the Oliver family which was Orange and the Coghlins, who were Roman Catholics. On July 1, 1847, Charles Coghlin was hanged on a charge of first degree murder consequent to Richard Oliver's death from stab wounds. A Catholic backlash followed, during which Wellington Mill, the property of Clarke, was burned to the ground.[89] Orange - Catholic disturbances on the canal at St.

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[86] *Packet*, 2 July 1847.
[87] Daniel O'Connor Papers.
[88] *Packet*, Reprint, 31 July 1847.
[89] See Leo A. Johnson, *History of Guelph 1827-1927*, (Guelph:

Catharines were recorded in detail by Hamilton H. Killaly[90] when he was there from 1848 to 1850.[91] The problems faced by Irish Catholics did not only result from clashes with Orangemen. The social crises which accompanied the massive Catholic immigration also affected Upper Canadians' social perceptions.[92]

Once the initial crises of their arrival had passed the famine immigrants were perceived to constitute an undesirable element in the population of Canada West. The problems of drunkenness, poverty and crime became more closely associated with the Catholic Irishman.[93] The stereotyped depiction of the Catholic Irish did not, however, distinguish between the new arrivals and the established commuity, either urban or rural. Irish Catholics therefore, were forced to defend the recent immigrants, whose extenuating circumstances, rather than innate characteristics, explained their temporary problems.

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[89] (cont'd) Guelph Historical Society, 1977) 118-27.

[90] An Irish immigrant, Killaly was appointed engineer in charge of the Welland Canal in 1838. He was Chairman of the Board of Works of the United Province, 1841-46. Killaly was elected to the Assembly in 1841, serving as member of the Executive Council, 1841-43. In 1859 he was appointed Inspector of Railways.

[91] PAC, MG 24, E 10, H.H. Killaly, Letterbook Kept while at St. Catharines, 1848-1850.

[92] See J. Clemens, "Taste Not; Touch Not, Handle Not: A Study of the Social Assumptions of the Temperance Literature and Temperance Supporters in Canada West between 1839 and 1859," *Ontario History* 64(Sept.1972):142-60; Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters. Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1974); S. Houston, "Politics, Schools and Social Change in Upper Canada," in *Education and Social Change. Themes from Ontario's Past* (New York, 1975), 83-109.

[93] See Chapter 1.

During the period of famine immigration the discussion in Britain of schemes to continue Irish immigration to Canada was followed avidly in Canada West. The proposals of the Irish Canada Company were printed in full in May 1847 by the Packet. In rebuttal of hostile opinion on the desirability of further numbers of Irish Catholics the Catholics press became more defensive. Protestant fears of Catholicism sweeping over Canada West evoked the scorn of the Packet, which dismissed them out of hand:

> The timid cowardly fears about a predominant Irish nationality or predominant creed is all bosh, and fit only to be entertained by old women - something which will never be realised, at least not to any extent which will not be perfectly legitimate unless it be provoked.[94]

The Packet, maintaining that there was plenty of room in Canada, declared:

> .. the savings by labour of two or three years in North America settles every improvident Irishman for life; and despite the clatter about the prevalence of improvidence amongst Irishmen ... after all there is not over one in a hundred who is not both industrious and provident.[95]

When the desirability of the Irish was directly questioned, the Catholic press countered with an emphasis on the role of the Irish:

> They are the producers of the country ... and in an agricultural country, such as Canada now is more of these people we want [sic]. They are the men who feed and keep the Scotch shopkeeper, the English artisan, and the Canadian lawyer and Land Jobber....[96]

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[94] Packet, 8 May 1847.
[95] Packet, 15 May 1847.
[96] Packet, 8 May 1847.

The Irish, it was claimed, justified their presence in Canada West.

Even so, the press was compelled to explain agricultural retardation among the Irish. The cause, it was argued, lay in the landowning system in Ireland, rather than in a lack of inclination. The Tenant Right movement in Ireland was in 1850 hailed by the Toronto Catholic Mirror as a ray of hope:

> Would to God the day had come when the Irish farmer could live in prosperity and contentment in his own green Ireland, free alike from the landlord's frown and the refined tyranny of his agent! The name of an Irish emigrant would cease to be synonomous with squalid poverty, and the silly fop in other lands would no longer turn up his nose in contempt at his national cognomen."[97]

The Irish Catholic community was seen to argue that the injustices of the Irish environment were the root of the Irish problems in Canada West.

During the 1850s anti-Irish sentiment did not abate; in fact, it was heightened in an atmosphere of intense religious animosity and ideological bitterness as traditional political alignments changed. Sectarian clashes between Orangemen and Catholics took on a new edge during this period, fuelled by such incidents as the Gavazzi Riots of June 1853[98] and the Corrigan case in

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[97] Mirror, 22 Aug.1850.

[98] Alessandro Gavazzi, an ex-monk, who had been involved in the Italian nationalist Revolution in 1848, arrived in Canada in 1853, on his North American tour to raise funds and denounce the Papacy. In Quebec and Montreal his talks were interrupted by anti-Protestant mobs. In Montreal Irish Roman Catholics attacked the Protestant congregation of the Zion Church where he was speaking; deaths and bloodshed resulted.

1856.[99] Anti-Catholic views reinforced anti-Irish sentiment. Irish Catholics had become disillusioned with the Reform party by the early 1850s. Their Anglo-Irish liberal ally, Robert Baldwin, had departed in 1851; his successor Hincks showed he was prepared to accommodate the emerging Scottish Grit faction under George Brown.

The emergence of George Brown's Grit faction alarmed the Irish Catholic community. Brown stood for voluntarism versus clericalism. "Papal aggression"[100] became the focus of his campaign through the pages of the *Globe.*[101] The *Mirror* in January 1851 warned that the *Globe*'s anti-Catholic proscription would drive Irish Catholic support away from the Reform party. Irish Catholics, in defense of their rights, would not allow their political allies to abuse their religion.[102] As Brown continued to stir up the Irish Catholic community, its political sympathies by 1854 leaned further towards the newly created Liberal Conservative party. John A. Macdonald presented a non-sectarian, non-sectional platform and had the support of Catholic French-Canadians.[103] The emergence of the Catholic *Citizen* in Toronto in 1854 reflected the Irish Catholic shift in allegiance from the Reform Party.[104] The Catholic community became a little more exacting of the political system, due to the fragmentation of political viewpoints in the 1850s. Central to this development was an expansion in the influence of the Roman Catholic Church; in addition lay Catholic political leadership learned to swing the balance of power in the interests of the Irish Catholic community.

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[99] Edward Corrigan, an Irish Protestant convert, was murdered in Canada East by an Irish Catholic gang. Their acquittal by a French-Canadian judge and Roman Catholic jury incensed Protestant opinion in Canada West.

[100] An angry Protestant response to the Vatican's declaration of a full territorial Catholic hierarchy in England produced the "Papal Aggression" question there in late 1850.

[101] See J.M.S. Careless, *Brown of the Globe,* vol.1, *The Voice of Upper Canada,1818-1859* (Toronto,1959),124-28.

[102] *Mirror,* 21 Jan.1851, cited by Careless, *Brown of the Globe,* on p.127.

[103] See J.M.S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas. The Growth of Canadian Institutions,18841-1857* (Toronto,1967),189.

It was during the 1850s that the Roman Catholic Church, under Armand de Charbonnel, first espoused the identity of Irish Catholics in Canada West. Charbonnel strengthened the organisational structure of the church and instigated the creation of auxiliary institutions to ensure the welfare of the Irish Catholic community and meet its religious and social needs.[105] As Murray Nicholson has argued, "Through its activity, it became the central focus for a distinctive cultural vehicle, Irish Tridentine Catholicism, incorporating a form of ethno-religious privatism which sustained group survival."[106]

Education was seen by the Church as fundamental to the religious and social reformation of the Catholic Irish in

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[104] It was edited by Thomas then Michael Hayes, who propounded on the rights of the Catholic hierarchy, and maintained a virulent opposition to George Brown.

[105] See Murray A. Nicholson, "The Irish Catholics and Social Action in Toronto 1850-1900," Studies in History and Politics Volume 1, No. 1 (1980): 30-54.

[106] Murray A. Nicholson, "Six Days Shalt Thou Labour: The Catholic Church and the Irish Worker in Victorian Toronto," Paper Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1983, 1.

Canada West.[107] Their growing demand for distinctive education rights was reinforced by the heavy famine immigration. The Common School Bill of 1850 was a response to the demand for further separate school provisions.[108] French Canadian Bleu support was instrumental in pushing through the supplementary school bill of 1853 which went even further in establishing a dual school system in Canada West.[109] Separate schools, founded under the direction of religious orders, instilled the essentials of the faith and morality through the Catechism. Children were filled with an overwhelming sense of awe by the importance attached to Church ceremony and rituals which they witnessed and took part in frequently. If their religious identity was Catholic their social identity was Irish.

Irish history and literature familiarised Irish Catholic children with Ireland's heroes and past glories. Irish themes provided topics for debates, recitals and presentations. Rooted in the past, this association with Ireland provided a defensive mechanism against the present environment. "By instilling nationality, the school system prepared the children to withstand criticism of their ethno-religious group."[110] When George Brown called for the Repeal of the Separate School Acts in 1856, Irish Catholic leadership was spurred to action. The fight for the maintenance and extension of the separate school system became the central issue around which the identity of the Irish Catholic community revolved.[111]

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[107] For a full discussion see Murray A. Nicholson, "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity," Histoire Social - Social History 17, No. 34 (nov./Nov.1984):287-306.

[108] Careless, The Union of the Canadas, 176.

[109] Ibid., 182-3.

[110] Nicholson, "Irish Catholic Education," 298.

It also caused political dissension within the Catholic community. It split the Irish Catholic vote, and revealed that a difference of opinion existed among Irish Catholics on the principle of lay as opposed to clerical leadership of the community. The influential figure of Thomas D'Arcy McGee[112] was behind an attempt to shift the allegiance of Irish Roman Catholics from the Conservatives back to the Reform party. The rationale for such a move was that the addition of McGee to the Reform party might weaken the anti-Catholic bias of Brown's Grit faction.

The Toronto Canadian Freeman was founded in 1858. It was edited by Irishman J. Moylan, a staunch Roman Catholic, who had been educated at Maynooth College in Ireland. Moylan worked in close collaboration with McGee on the policy and content of the Freeman. Despite the invective of the Globe, he backed McGee's support of Brown and the Reform party. In August 1859 Moylan declared: "With the Reform party the Catholics of Western Canada acted manfully under Baldwin, and in the early and better days of Mr. Hincks, in that party we are convinced, the greatest amount of genuine liberality is permanently embodied...."[113]

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[111] See Franklin A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, (Toronto, 1976); and for analysis, J.S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West, Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867 (Toronto, 1959), 150-180.

[112] McGee, Irish emigrant and Young Ireland veteran of 1848, moved from the United States to Canada in 1857. In Montreal he published the New Era in which he argued for a "new nationality" and federal system for Canada. He spoke in the interests of the Irish, both in Canada East and West, and lectured to Irish groups. He sat for Montreal in the Legislative Assembly from 1857. McGee was appointed Minister of Agriculture, Immigration and Statistics for the Conservative government elected in 1863. He vehemently opposed the Fenian movement. In 1868 he was murdered in Ottawa.

The Irish Catholic community, despite its political differences, expounded on the Catholic right to separate education on which there could be no compromise. McGee, speaking in the Legislature in June 1858, declared it was a right of natural law for parents to select, protect and direct the eduation of their children. The issue was not one of equal advantage but of association. In addition, McGee continued, the teaching of reason was another consideration: "we insist that every lesson in reason shall be accompanied by a lesson in Revelation, as a rider, as a safeguard."[114]

Thomas D'Arcy McGee's assumed secular leadership of Irish Catholics in Canada West in support of Brown and the Reform party had, by 1860, come into conflict with the views of the Church under Archbishop Lynch.[115] By November 1860

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[113] Canadian Freeman, 19 Aug.1859, quoted by Gibeault, "Les Relation", 42.

[114] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "The Separate School Question," Speech Delivered in the Legislative Assembly at Toronto, June 23, 1858, in the debate on Mr. T.R. Ferguson's motion to abolish the Separate School System in Canada. 1825 - D'Arcy McGee - 1925. A Collection of speeches and Addresses - Together with a Complete Report of the Centennial Celebration of the Birth of the Hon. Thomas D. McGee at Ottawa, April 13,1825, ed. Charles Murphy (Toronto,1937),161.

[115] John Joseph Lynch (1816-1888) was born in County Fermanagh. Educated in Ireland, he entered the seminary of Saint-Lazare in Paris, and was ordained at Maynooth in 1843.

Moylan had dissociated the Freeman from Brown and the Reformers because of their refusal to accommodate Catholics on the school question.[116] The Freeman subsequently weighted its efforts in favour of John A. Madonald's Liberal-Conservatives; as the school question remained unresolved, Lynch also allied himself with Macdonald.[117]

The Canadian Freeman became the main Irish Catholic newspaper in Canada West during the 1860s.[118] It was the defender and exponent of the temporal authority of the Catholic Church in Canada; analogies and links with the Catholic Church in Ireland were used to support the Freeman's views on the influence that was appropriate for the Church in Canada. In January 1862 it reprinted an

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[115](cont'd) He served as a missionary in Texas. In 1859 he was consecrated as coadjutor bishop of Toronto. Bishop of Toronto from 1860, Lynch was elevated to first Archbishop of Toronto in 1870.

[116] Canadian Freeman, 8 Nov.1860. McGee had not been consulted on Moylan's change of policy. In a letter of regret and annoyance to Moylan he wrote: "I predict the new policy ... will fail to give peace or strength, or respectability to the Catholics of Western Canada." PAC, MG 29 D75, J. Moylan Papers, McGee to Moylan, 8 November 1860

[117] For a discussion of the relations between Lynch and Macdonald see J.J. Stortz, "John Joseph Lynch Archbishop of Toronto: A Biographical Study of Religious, Political and Social Commitment," PhD dissertation, University of Guelph, n.d., Chapter 4. It was, however, under the Reform ministry of John Sanfield MacDonald that in 1863 the Scott Bill on Separate Schools was passed. Lynch subsequently secured a guarantee of separate schools under Confederation from John A. Macdonald.

[118] In 1858 the Catholic Citizen had been bought out by the Canadian Freeman. "The Canadian Freeman... gradually replaced the Mirror as the voice of Roman Catholicism...." Moir, Church and State, 169. The Mirror was published until 1866. No copies are extant from the 1860s. In 1863 the Irish Canadian was established, by Patrick Boyle, Secretary of the Hibernian Benevolent Society in Toronto. It represented extreme Irish nationalist opinion in Canada West.

article from the Tablet, an English Catholic newspaper, which argued that the voice of Ireland was neither heard nor heeded as it should be

> because the only political leaders in whom the sound instinct of the Irish people enables them to place confidence are absent, because the priests of Ireland are excluded from the political arena; and because in their absence there is no one but the Demagogue or Popularity - hunter who can aspire to fill their place.[119]

In emphasising the inference that should be drawn by Irish Catholics in Old Ontario the Freeman pointed out that the italics were its own. In 1865 Moylan, in a discourse on the new National Association[120] in Ireland, noted with satisfaction that the bishops were leading the cause.[121] The advancement of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and links between it and the Catholic Church in Canada were continually stressed. When the Archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen, was elected Cardinal in June 1866, Moylan responded:

> ...we hasten from distant Canada to join the Catholic nation of Ireland in offering our salutation and the homage of profound veneration and affectionate good wishes to the Proto-Irish Cardinal....[122]

The Irish diaspora remained united through the communion of the Roman Catholic Church.

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[119] Canadian Freeman, 23 Jan.1863.

[120] The National Association was founded in 1864 to promote tenant rights, disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, and freedom of education. It received strong support from most of the hierarchy who hoped that it would weaken the influence of the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood. Most of the Association's supporters were absorbed into the Home Rule Movement which was established in 1870.

[121] Canadian Freeman, 26 Jan.1865.

[122] Canadian Freeman, 21 June 1866.

During the 1860s the supposition that the Catholic Irish in Canada West had a duty towards Old Ireland became almost an article of faith, inextricably bound to their Catholicism. They were bound to deliver her countrymen from distress, support her claims of nationality, and spread her Church through a millenarian mission. The Irish "famine" of the early 1860s received extensive coverage in the Catholic press. In January 1862 an editorial in the Canadian Freeman urged the Irish of Toronto to bestir themselves[123], while in Kingston, the bishop in his appeal for aid, stressed the duty of Irishmen to respond generously.[124] The Sisters of Mercy in Clifden, Connemara made an appeal for aid to the charitable institutions of Toronto in 1862; the Canadian Freeman pointed out the good sisters felt assured of a response from the Irish "now enjoying the comforts of life in a foreign land."[125]

Appeals for assistance came from the press, the Church, and even from Ireland. The demands on the Irish Catholic community, however, were not necessarily fulfilled. At a fund-raising meeting held in St. Vincents Chapel, Toronto, in May 1863:

> The attendance was not so numerous as the important object contemplated would lead us to desire. There was a notable absence of those men, who from their position and circumstance ought to take an active and leading part in every benevolent movement.... It is lamentable, aye, shameful, to see the great apathy and callousness that pervade a great portion of our community when called upon to rally to the

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[123] Canadian Freeman, 27 Jan.1862
[124] Canadian Freeman, 30 Jan.1862
[125] Canadian Freeman, 11 Dec.1862.

> relief of their suffering countrymen.[126]

The Irish Catholic was never allowed to forget the responsiblity his material advancement had placed on him.

The moral conduct of the Irish in Canada, it was agreed, also reflected on their countrymen at home and thus gave legitimacy to Ireland's claims for justice. In December 1862 Bishop Lynch had a letter published in the Canadian Freeman to the effect that he was sending his subscription in advance and urged others to do likewise. He pointed out his own mortification of the previous summer, when, in Ireland, he had noticed his own name on the Freeman's black list, "...especially as in Ireland, any dishonour is sarcastically reproached, even to distant relatives."[127]

An emotional sermon on Irish nationality given by Bishop Lynch in St. Michael's Cathedral on St. Patrick's Day 1863 encapsulated the link between the Irish in Ireland and the Irish Catholic community in Canada West:

> But they will tell us - they are every day telling us - "bury your nationality, forget Ireland". This we cannot do... how can we forget our own flesh and blood whom we know to be still pining in anguish and in sorrow, in fear and desperation - the land which God had given them?... But let us be assured that the wail of anguish in Ireland is forever hushed by the care and solicitude of England ... and then, but not till then, will we bury our nationality....[128]

The contrast between Ireland and Canada, he suggested, was something the Catholic Irish could be thankful for:

> But you are happy in Canada. We are independent - we make our own laws - would to God we could make them

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[126] Canadian Freeman, 14 May 1863.
[127] Canadian Freeman, 11 Dec. 1862.
[128] Canadian Freeman, 19 March 1863.

> in Ireland!... We enjoy our free institutions, and were the invader to come to-morrow, we are prepared to stand in the gap and lay down our lives in defense of our country. We have a power in this country that we helped to build up - we have a voice and liberty of speech; but where is the use of these preogatives, if after having gained our own rights as freemen we do not employ them in the service of Ireland.[129]

For Irish Catholics, their freedom and strength in Canada imposed a duty on them as Irishmen.

The Irish Catholic community was also taught to practise its religion with fervour and zeal. The concept of a millenarian mission to convert North America was introduced to the Irish laity by French clerics in the 1850s.[130] During the 1860s Bishop Lynch exhorted them to their historic task. It was to be achieved through the devotional systems, confraternities and sodalities of a revitalised church. He himself expounded on aspects of Catholicism in Sunday night lectures at St. Michael's.[131] The Catholic Church became both in personnel and orientation increasingly Irish under Lynch's direction. On St. Patrick's Day 1864 Reverend White reminded the Irish of Toronto that there were two things they should not forget: their religion and their nationality. He quickly corrected himself:

> He should not say ... two things because there [sic] were one and the same thing, for his fellow countrymen could not be Irish without being Catholic.[132]

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[129] Ibid.
[130] Nicholson, "Irish Catholic Education," 299.
[131] See Stortz, "John Joseph Lynch," 13-14.
[132] _Irish Canadian,_ 23 March 1864.

The cohesion of the Irish Catholic community, however, was undermined in the mid-1860s by the Fenian movement in the United States.[133] the United States. In Canada the Irish Catholic community came under close scrutiny. The *Leader* and the *Globe* maintained an aggressive campaign questioning the loyalty of Irish Catholics in Canada West. A reader of the *Freeman* in retaliation to the charge that Irish Catholics were forming secret societies, asked,

> Where are the Catholic "secret societies"? Is there any one Catholic society in Canada which is disloyal or treasonable? But there is the "Fenian Brotherhood". There are but a few who know more of this society than that it is a New York institution, established by and composed of, citizens of a foreign country, always ready to promote and encourage any enterprise which may have a tendency to the "destruction of British power."[134]

The letter concluded that it was the loyalty of the Protestant Secret Society that was in doubt. Under attack Irish Catholics responded with a traditional line of defense: a counter attack on Orangeism. In addition, the Irish Catholic community proclaimed its loyalty -- loyalty rooted in their religion and proven in the past:

> When Radicals and anarchists of the Clear Grit type, in 1837, proved themselves traitors and rebels to Canada, and to the British Throne, the Irish Catholics were found on the side of the Crown and constitution.[135]

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[133] Fenian was the name given to the Republican organisation founded in New York by James O'Mahoney in 1858. It served as an auxiliary to the Irish Republican Brotherhood founded the same year in Dublin, supplying officers, volunteers and arms. See W.S. Neidhart, *Fenianism in North America* (University Park, Penn.,1975); and H. Senior, *The Fenians and Canada* (Toronto,1978).

[134] *Canadian Freeman,* 10 Dec.1863.

[135] *Canadian Freeman,* 9 April 1863,

The Fenians in America were an embarrassment to many Irish Catholics in Canada West. They denied that they lived in circumstances that could produce such disaffection. The Irish Catholic community, therefore, adopted the anti-American bias of their contemporaries and used it to illustrate the superiority of their position as loyal subjects enjoying the fruits of British liberty in marked comparison to their countrymen in the United States. Irish American loyalty to the United States and its institutions, it was argued, was ill-founded:

> Nativism springs up, and the Irish are tabooed; riots occur and the Irish are in fault; war breaks out and the Irish fight the battles;... an election is at hand, and the Irish are courted; the poll is scarcely closed when they are abused; a draft is needed, and the deeds and patriotism of Sarsfield, Emmet, and King Brian, are narrated and extolled; the necessity of the hour is over - and the countrymen of these heros are told that their case will be attended to, when that of the negro shall have been decided.[136]

In denying such a state of affairs existed in Canada, the Canadian Freeman was also implicitly warning Irish Catholics in the present crisis to be on guard.

Extensive coverage of the Fenian movement in Ireland, nevertheless, was evident in the Irish Catholic press in Toronto. The Canadian Freeman was equivocal in its views of the Fenian cause in Ireland, while the Irish Canadian fully endorsed it.[137] The ambivalence of the Church and the Canadian Freeman towards the Irish nationalist ideals of the

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[136] Canadian Freeman, 11 Feb.1864.

[137] For a discussion of this see R.F. McGee, "The Toronto Irish Catholic Press and Fenianism,1863-66," MA Thesis, University of Ottawa,1969.

Fenians ended in 1865 when the nature of the movement became fully apparent. "To die for Ireland just now," the Freeman declared, "is neither to save nor to serve it, self-destruction does not constitute true patriotism." Social and political change for Ireland could be effected, "without passing though the fiery fate of revolution."[138]

But the Irish Catholic community could no longer deny the existence of Fenian sympathy or activity in Canada West. In Toronto the Fenian sympathies of the Hibernian Benevolent Society, under the leadership of Michael Murphy, became increasingly suspect.[139] The Canadian Freeman maintained an aggressive attack on the Irish Canadian,[140] for it's support of the Toronto Hibernians who had been condemned from the pulpit in August 1865 by Lynch.[141] In March 1866, panic broke out in Canada West over a possible Fenian invasion from across the border. The Freeman described Michael Murphy as "living and trading on a movement which every honest and honourable Irishman regards with contempt and disgust.[142]

The subsequent fiasco of the Irish Republican Brotherhood on Canadian soil in 1866 showed that Irish Catholics as a body were indeed loyal Canadians.[143] It is clear however, that there was support for the aims of the Fenians, if not their means among Irish Catholics in Canada West.[144] The Church, moreover, had been slow to condemn the Fenians and the Hibernian Society.[145] The degree of Fenian activity in Canada West remains undetermined; the episode however indicates a split in Irish Catholic thinking on obedience to clerical directives on the question of Irish nationalism.

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[138] Canadian Freeman, 28 Dec.1865.

[139] See C.P. Stacey, "A Fenian Interlude. The Story of Michael Murphy," Canadian Historical Review 15,No.2,(1934):133-154.

[140] It was owned by Patrick Boyle, secretary of the Hibernian Society.

[141] Canadian Freeman, 17 Aug.1865.

[142] Canadian Freeman, 22 March 1866.

[143] See C.P. Stacey, "Fenianism and the Rise of National Feeling at the Time of Confederation," Canadian Historical Review 12,No.3(1931):238-61.; See also F.M. Quealy, "The Fenian Invasion of Canada West, June 1st and 2nd,1866,"

As Confederation approached, Irish Catholic leadership consequently attempted to turn nationalist sentiment towards the maple leaf rather than the shamrock. Irish Catholics were asked to ascribe to a new nationality: Canadian. D'Arcy McGee argued that the popularity of the Fenian movement in America, and its failure in Canada, underlined the difference in the position of the Irish in the two countries. The Irish in Canada were not an alien element in the population; as successful settlers they had adopted Canada as their own.[146] He was also one of the main

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[143](cont'd) Ontario History, 53,No.1,(1961):37-66.

[144] See P.M. Toner, "The Rise of Irish Nationalism in Canada, 1854-1884," PhD Thesis, University College Galway,1974. Toner argues that the extent of Fenian activity in Canada has been underestimated. Furthermore, he emphasises that in British North American Fenian activity was seditious, unlike in the United States: "In fact, the small bands of Fenians in Canada represent a deeper dedication to the Fenian cause than all the picnics and parades in Buffalo, Boston and Brooklyn." Ibid.,398.

[145] As late as 1864, a year after Michael Murphy had announced that he could count on twenty thousand nationalists in Canada who would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives (Irish Canadian, 18 March 1863) Bishop Lynch addressed the Hibernian Society after Mass on St. Patrick's Day.

[146] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, The Irish Position in British and the Republican North America. A Letter to the Editors of the

proponents of the idea of a new Canadian nationality. McGee argued that Canada's ethnic and constitutional problems would be solved through a federal system.[147] This view was shared by the Canadian Freeman which declared in 1867:

> The Dominion of Canada is a land to love! It is as much the Irishman's land, as any other. It is as much a Catholic as it is a Protestant country.[148]

Irish Catholics now claimed their rightful recognition as Canadians.

The Irish Catholic community then, from the early years of the province to Confederation, was forced to defend itself and justify its presence in Old Ontario. In doing do, it identified its interests with the Reform party until the 1850s, when the Catholic Church sought to provide leadership and demand the rights of Catholics in Canada West. Central to the Irish Catholic line of defense was a condemnation of the sectarian hostilities perpetrated by Orange fellow countrymen. Irish Catholics, while supporting redress of Irish grievances in Ireland, maintained their loyalty to Britain and Canada, which they claimed to have proven their loyalty to Canada in 1812, 1837, 1848 and 1866. They assumed a distinction between Canadian and American Irish Catholics in delineating the sense of Irish identity to which they professed. By Confederation the Catholic Irish claimed to be Canadian. As Canadians they demanded that Old Ontario should

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[146] (cont'd) Irish Press Irrespective of Party, (Montreal, 1866).

[147] Many of his ideas were derived from the nationalist theories of Young Ireland. See R.B. Burns, "Thomas D'Arcy McGee. A Biography." PhD Thesis, McGill University, 1976.

[148] Canadian Freeman, Aug. 1867.

be shared by Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant alike.

VI. THE MYTH OF IRISH UNITY

> ... We call upon every Irishman in this colony, be him Orangeman or Catholic, who respects his own character and that of his country to aid and assist in putting down all such folly as party processions, party quarrels, and religious animosity, which have long been the ruin of our native land, and the reproach of Irishmen all over the world.[1]

The immigrant Irish in Old Ontario were sensitive to the disgrace which they perceived to be brought upon the whole Irish community as a result of Orange-Catholic disturbances. Irishmen, ashamed of the divisions evident among them, professed to an ideal: unity. Irish unity would confound the prejudices which retarded their progress in the province. Irish patriotism was seen to be a common bond and the vehicle by which unity could be brought about. National societies were founded without concern for religious identification in the interests of Irish patriotism and to promote the advancement of the Irish in Canada. St. Patrick's Day was seen as the focal occasion for Irish unity and it was hoped that Catholic and Protestant alike could share a common heritage through the Patrican national festival.

Attitudes towards the celebration of St. Patrick's Day reveal an important element of cultural transference among the Irish in Old Ontario. The perspective, which emerged in Ireland in the forty years prior to Catholic Emancipation, stressed St. Patrick's Day as the national festival. Jacqueline Hill argues that in Ireland,

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[1] _Canadian Freeman,_ 23 June 1831.

> during the period from 1790 to 1830, first the Williamite and subsequently the Patrican traditions became contentious: not, initially, as between Catholics and Protestants, but rather as between Protestants of different political views.[2]

From the turn of the century celebration of the Williamite victory became the preserve of the Orange Order and lower class Protestants; liberal Protestants, along with the Roman Catholic majority, identified with the Patrican tradition, whose symbol the shamrock could attract a universal allegiance among the Irish. These attachments were transferred to Upper Canada and the ideal of unity became embodied in the rhetoric and symbolism which served the purposes of the immigrant Irish.

The Irish national character was a focal element of this patriotism. The argument that the Irishman's failings were innate was rejected in favour of the view that if the Irish were predisposed towards intemperance, crime, poverty and violence, it was the result of a home environment mismanaged by the British government. The creation of a counter-stereotype was an integral part of this denial. The positive side of the Irish character was emphasised: its wit, warmth, enthusiastic fervour and quickness of mind. The characteristics of the "true Irishman" included tolerance, impartiality and liberal mindedness. These qualities were the mark of true Irish patriotism and the essence of unity among Irishmen in Old Ontario.

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[2] Jacqueline R. Hill, "National Festivals, the State and 'Protestant Ascendancy' in Ireland, 1790-1829," Irish Historical Studies, 24,No.93 (May 1984):30-31.

As early as 1828 the idea of a 'mission' to unite Irishmen in spite of their differences had emerged. William Lyon Mackenzie accused William Warren Baldwin of bigotry and prejudice against Orangemen. In a denial of these charges Francis Collins, editor of the Canadian Freeman, implied that the issue needed no Scottish interference, it was a matter which concerned only Irishmen:

> the editor of the Freeman and Dr. Baldwin never attempted to put down the Orange society - they only exerted themselves to that which the good sense of the Orangemen themselves has dictated, at least in this neighbourhood [Toronto] - namely to put a stop to their public processions.... But since these useless parades have ceased Orangemen and Catholics sit down together in brotherly love, recognising each other by no distinction but that of friends and fellow countrymen. This is the holy purpose for which the editor of this paper and Dr. Baldwin contended.[3]

The essential element of the myth had been declared: that Irishmen in Upper Canada could and should live as one nation. Therefore, the Irish interest press attempted to downplay any charges of sectarianism and party strife against the Irish. The case of a dispute between two Irishmen in September, 1831 was taken up by the Upper Canadian press. In York, an Irish Protestant called Harper had inflicted a fractured skull on one O'Brien, a Roman Catholic countryman. The Canadian Freeman was quick to deny sectarian feuding as the cause of the incident: "We are happy in being able to state that the affair originated in sudden passion, and party feeling was wholly out of the question."[4]

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[3] Canadian Freeman, 7 Aug. 1828.

The Irish were forced to cultural introspection in order to defend and explain themselves. Robert Jeffers, an Irish Methodist preacher, published the Alembic of Truth in Kingston in 1832. Jeffers in the prospectus for his newspaper, referred to:

> The supernatural vigour of intellect, urged on the high wrought feeling which belongs to the FIRST CLASS of Legitimate Irish MIND....[5]

His estimation of the Irish national character had a chauvinistic tone:

> Much loved Hibernia! Region of wonders! The very vices of thy national character are interesting - are magnificent!... So thou land of gems - thy unrivalled sons (from their excitable fermentative quality) when mixed with the ponderous (quiet) dullness of other nations - raises them to all that is palatable in pleasure, great in enterprise, and dazzling in glory!...[6]

The Irish in Jeffers' view were not the "poor Irish", but rather the leaven of the human race!

In the prospectus for a work entitled The Milesians or an Enquiry into the Origin and History of the Irish, Jeffers declared:

> In the prosecution of this work a 'mite' will be thrown in toward that most desirable of Irish things, a union among the sons of Erin ... It is ... hoped to remove first ground of prejudice against

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[4] Canadian Freeman, 1 Sept.1831.
[5] Patriot and Farmer's Monitor, Prospectus of the Alembic of Truth, 17 Jan., 14 and 24 Feb.1832.
[6] Ibid.

> the National Character: and by wiping off the tarnish of unjust misrepresentation - to exhibit the pure EMERALD in all its native lustre: so that it shall be proved an honour (and not a disgrace) to be connected with Ireland.[7]

In Jeffers' mind unity was imperative; it would abrogate the negative stereotype of the Irish and reveal the Irishman in his true worth.

Irish patriotism was seen to be a natural feeling for the immigrant. The Rev. John McCaul, principal of Upper Canada College, and chaplain to the St. Patrick's Society of Toronto, preached at St. James on 17th March 1842. In the course of his sermon he suggested that:

> the man who has ceased to feel the pulses of patriotism throb within him, and whose heart no longer beats with a quicked movement when called upon in a foreign land to prove that he remembers his country or his countrymen, cannot have the same principle of vitality in his frame, which circulates through the veins of human nature.[8]

Irish leadership employed a number of strategies by which to upbraid Irishmen for their disunity. Reference or analogy to Ireland was one of them. The Mirror, maintaining that the Orange Order should be made illegal in Canada as it had been in Ireland, celebrated the unhindered progression of Irish unity at home:

> the majority of the people in Ireland are now in the attitude of offering to every Irishman reconciliation and oblivion of all past differences, in views of uniting all Irishmen in all necessary measures for the good of Ireland.... Why then should not the Irish of Canada, as well as of Ireland,

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[7] Patriot and Farmer's Monitor, 24 March 1835.
[8] Rev. John McCaul, Emigration to a Better Country - A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral of St. James, Toronto, on St. Patrick's Day, 1842, before the Societies of St. George, St. Patrick and St. Andrew (Toronto,1842),3.

> agree to shake hands heartily and sincerely and bury the tomohawk for ever.[9]

In spite of the Irish example it was readily apparent that unity among Irishmen in Canada was not increasing during the 1840s. As a result the Irish press was forced to make a subtle shift in countering charges of disunity and disorder among the Irish. Denial was no longer tenable; rather the emphasis was on justification and explanation. The Reform interest press berated Irishmen for fulfilling the stereotyped image of their lack of political acumen; the Irish were depicted as political dupes. As the Packet commented: "Irishmen...separate, disunited, make themselves laughing stocks, tools in the hands of designing persons...."[10] The Catholic press, in an attempt to downplay Catholic animosity towards Irish Protestants, ridiculed Orangemen as fools. A distinction was frequently made between Orange leaders as scheming knaves and the rank and file Orangemen who were simply misguided fellow Irishmen.[11] The Mirror reminded its readers:

> Many of them are good sort of fellows, and would go fifty miles in all weathers, to do a good turn to their Catholic neighbours - why allow themselves to be humbugged by designing interloppers, who come among them to advance their own ends ... we want them to join with us making the name of Irishmen respected, and in securing to them that just share of influence to which they are entitled to have in the community.[12]

The Orange Irish, no less than the Catholic Irish, should not allow themselves to become the dupes of a political faction.

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[9] Mirror, 19 Sept.1845.
[10] Packet, 5 Nov.1847.
[11] The Examiner on 3 Feb.1847 maintained that Orange leaders deliberately perpetuated sectarian violence.
[12] Mirror, 17 July 1846.

In addition, attempts were made to reverse cultural stereotypes. The Irish Catholic Packet, for example, editorialised:

> The Irish Catholic, who is neither an automaton nor a stoic, has in common with the muscular energy which is so beneficial to the country, the warm feelings of the most passionate man. These feelings are not failings, and should not be punished as such. He should not be weighed in the scale made for the deliberate, mercenary murderer of England, or the cool, crafty criminal of the United States. His faults are not brutal nor mercenary faults - they are impulsive faults arising from an exuberance of spirits, the gratification of which are no earthly benefit to himself.[13]

"What is an Irishman?", rhetorically asked Orangeman Benjamin Warren. "A [spry?] hot headed fellow, with a free tongue and a generous heart, ever ready to suit the action to the word, vigilent and faithful...."[14] The volatile nature of the Irish national character was stressed as a positive aspect. This unique quality of the Irish, it was implied, should not be misinterpreted.

A number of other elements were also intended to fan the glow of Irish patriotism and thus stimulate unity in Upper Canada. These included Irish national societies, St. Patrick's Day with its parades, speeches and dinners, and the symbol of the shamrock. Irish national societies, established in the interests of brotherhood among Irishmen, invariably took their name from the Irish Apostle.[15] They had a number of functions including charitable endeavours. In Kingston a St. Patrick's Society was formed in 1836 to assist distressed immigrants on their arrival.[16] By the 1860s such societies as the St. Patrick's Literary Association of Ottawa catered to the intellectual interests of the Irish community.

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[13] Packet, 24 Oct.1846.
[14] PAC, MG 24, K 64, Benjamin Warren, A Collection of Loyal Songs and a Number of Love Songs etc. Together Anecdotes et., 220.

St. Patrick's Societies were open to Irishmen of all creeds who shared a common interest in the welfare of their countrymen. Nevertheless, the tone of each society revealed the fundamental religious, political and social perspectives of the founding members. Dissensions were rife within these St. Patrick's Societies and they frequently floundered on the shifting sands of Canadian politics. In 1837 Terence J. O'Neil made a public declaration of his withdrawal as a member of the St. Patrick's Society of Toronto, which he called a "political bubble."[17] He had joined in the interests of honest nationality, but he now doubted that the Orangemen of the Society had anything to offer in the interest of "the amalgamation of all classes of [their] countrymen in one bond of amity" or could sincerely associate with Roman Catholics. "Great God," he asked, "can we believe that men could be sincere in venerating the memory of St. Patrick ... and at the same time spew out abhorence of [O'Connell]...." O'Neil lauded the untiring Christian efforts of the heroic O'Connell who sought constitutional peace for his countrymen. "Yet this is the man," he exclaimed, "whom the majority of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, decry as the greatest enemy to his country."[18]

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[15] It is therefore difficult to distinguish one St. Patrick's Society from another over a span of years.
[16] P.E. Malcolmson, "The Poor in Kingston, 1815-1850," To Preserve and Defend. Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century, ed. G. Tulchinsky (Montreal, 1976), 293.
[17] Correspondent and Advocate, 15 March 1837, Letter to the President of the St. Patrick's Society of Toronto.

In 1841 another society of Irishmen was established in Toronto. The Examiner expressed its "sincere pleasure" at the founding of the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society:

> Liberal Irishmen in Toronto have long deplored the want of a truly National Society, which would unite their countrymen of all sects and denominations; and at the same time lead to that harmonious social intercourse amongst them which none but those have been long absent from their native land know how to effect.[19]

William Warren Baldwin was president of this new society, which may have reflected Reform sympathy among the immigrant Irish, both Catholic and Protestant. Harmony, however, was not to prevail as dissensions over Canadian politics erupted among the officers. In March 1843 Captain Eccles resigned his position as vice-president, having received "a very severe lecture" from Colonel C.J. Baldwin for his support of the Tories in the last election.[20] "It is the opinion of many that this approaching St. Patrick's Dinner will be the last of this society,"[21] W.A. Baldwin informed his brother

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Examiner, 3 Feb.1841.

[20] MTL, Baldwin Papers, L5, 182, W.A. Baldwin to his brother Robert, 7 March 1843,

[21] Ibid. The St. Patrick's Benevolent Society did not dissolve until 1850.

Robert.

St. Patrick's Day provided a focal occasion for reflection on the vision of Irish unity. March 17 was a day of national festivity for Irish Protestants and Catholics alike, a day to remember and celebrate the land of their birth. It also provided an occasion to illustrate cooperation between Irishmen of differing denominations, cultural traditions, and political affiliations. The Mirror in 1846 proclaimed:

> It was a proud sight to see Protestant and Catholic, Tory and Liberal, Repealer and Orangemen walking side by side in generous rivalry to honour the common land of their fathers and the common home of their hearts.[22]

St. Patrick's Day was also an occasion to illustrate the activities of particular organisations and to emphasise the common goal for which they existed: the advancement of the Irish. In March 1847 the Bytown Catholic Temperance Society inserted a notice in the Packet to announce that in consequence of an invitation from the St. Patrick's Society of Bytown, they would be marching jointly on the 17th. The notice was captioned in large black print, "The Fruits of Brotherly Love among the United Irishmen of Bytown,"[23]

Parades and processions provided a spectacle and displayed Irish patriotism. The symbolism of Irish nationalist feeling was embodied by St. Patrick's Societies and flaunted on St. Patrick's Day. The necessary "Badges", "Psalters", and Shamrocks were to be had in Bytown in 1847 at the store of C. Sparrow Esq., Lower Town.[24] Notices of the St. Patrick's Society in Toronto, under the secretaryship of James Fitzgibbon, carried the insignia of shamrock and harp with the motto "Erin go Bragh".[25]

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[22] Mirror, 20 March 1846.
[23] Packet, 13 March 1847.

On St. Patrick's Day both Irish and Canadian differences could be set aside in honour of the common Irish bond, as Irishmen united under a single national symbol - the shamrock. The message of the Irish apostle was reiterated through a symbolic invocation of the shamrock:

> Oh, touch not the shamrock with hands that are stained;
> No, first let it die on its own native sod,
> For in it a maxim sublime is contained -
> For it was called by St. Patrick the emblem of God.[26]

The Irish national symbolism associated with St. Patrick's Day and the shamrock was carried into the 1860s. The St. Patrick's Society of Toronto in 1860 acquired two new banners for the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada. One of these banners was made from green silk decorated with the images of a harp, a wolfhound, and a shamrock accompanying the familiar "Erin go Bragh". On the reverse side was a lozenge encircling the Irish cross with crowned shamrocks and the motto "Quis Separabit." The second banner carried the national flag of Ireland - the Irish Red Cross "upon a field argent."[27] In 1865 the *Irish Canadian* referred to the banners hung in the Music Hall in Toronto for the St.

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[24] *Packet,* 13 March 1847.
[25] *Leader,* 19 Jan. 1855.
[26] Stanza from "On the Shamrock," composed by an exile of Erin in New York, *Canadian Freeman,* 8 May 1828.
[27] *Leader,* 20 Aug. 1860.

Patrick's Day lecture under the auspices of the Hibernian Benevolent Society. One had a full length portrait of the Liberator on one side and an Irish harp on the other. Robert Emmet was honoured on another banner.[28] Irish liberal Protestants in Canada West continued to identify with the Ireland of 1782. Irish Catholics placed emphasis on post-1800 Ireland, on the as yet unrealised future of their nation. Yet they drew on the same symbols to reflect their continued concern with their native land.

St. Patrick's dinners were attended by Old Erin's more prominent citizens in their 'adopted land'. The speeches and toasts stressed Irish patriotism and loyalty. St. Patrick and his mission of peace to Ireland were toasted first; the Royal family, the Army and Navy and the British ministry came next. Daniel O'Connell was often the first in a long line of Ireland's heroes to be toasted along with the past glory of Ireland's constitutional victory in 1782. In 1832 at Mr. Meagher's Hotel in York, toasts were raised to: "The memory of the illustrious dead, Curran, Grattan, and Flood. A speedy termination to all religious differences throughout the Globe; Ireland - the union of all her sons in defense of her common rights."[29] By the 1840s, the Irish Protestant parliament which had denied political participation to Catholics, the later non-sectarian, revolutionary ideals of the United Irishmen of the 1790s, and O'Connell's Repeal movement were rolled into one composite Irish political tradition. Irishmen in Canada West paradoxically looked to the past, to Ireland, as the source of unity among Irishmen in the present, in the new world.[30]

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[28] Irish Canadian, 22 March 1865.
[29] Patriot and Farmer's Monitor, 20 March 1832.

The proceedings on March 17 in various parts of the province were reported in detail in the Irish interest press. Although St. Patrick's Day was projected as a day of unity among Irishmen, the reality of the occasion was frequently less idyllic. The press, in reports of St. Patrick's parades, often used the expression that they "passed off quietly" - an indication that the reverse might have been expected. Emotions ran high; verbal insult between Protestants and Catholics escalated into physical confrontation on the day of peace no less than any other. The riot which occurred in Toronto on St. Patrick's Day in 1858 resulted in the death by stabbing of one Matthew Sheady.[31] If disorder did occur, however, it provided an opportunity for the press to lament the difference between Irishmen and point to the consequences. On the other hand, if the day's celebrations "passed off quietly", the progress in good feeling among Irishmen could be applauded.

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[30] Differences of opinion, however, clearly existed among Irishmen as to who should be recognised as important Irish figures. The Canadian Correspondent, in noting that St. Patrick's Day in 1834 had been celebrated "in true Hibernian style", commented: "We cannot help however, expressing our regret that a party of IRISHMEN should have met on PATRICK'S DAY, and should have forgotten DANIEL O'CONNELL, when toasting OLD IRELAND ... that he should have been forgotten and the odious WELLESLEY, remembered...." (Canadian Correspondent, 22 March 1834.) It is unclear whether the "odious WELLESLEY" is a reference to Richard Colley Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or his brother the Duke of Wellington, British Prime Minister from 1828 to 1830.

[31] This incident and the subsequent inquest received extensive coverage in the press. See Leader, 18 March-April 1858 for one perspective.

During the 1850s the festival of Ireland's patron saint became increasingly sectarian. The political antagonism of that decade soured the feeling of unity among Irishmen. With unprecendented vigour Protestants sought to defend themselves against Catholicism in Canada West. For Orange Irish Protestants, the Williamite tradition became the sole focus in their expression of Irish national identity. The Orangemen marched on the 12th of July in honour of King Billy, and most left the 17th of March, the shamrock and St. Patrick to Irish Catholics. As the Leader commented in March 1855:

> The annual procession headed by two priests and composed exclusively of the Sons of Erin professing the Roman Catholic faith passed our office between 9 and 10 in the morning.[32]

The Leader identified St. Patrick's Day as a Catholic Irish national festival.

St. Patrick's Day in Canada West, had, moreover, by the 1860s become more firmly associated with Catholicism, and Irish political, rather than patriotic, sentiment. Festivities on the 17th of March became more religiously orientated. The focal occasion of St. Patrick's Day during the 1860s in Toronto was Mass, celebrated at St. Michael's Cathedral. The hierarchy addressed the assembled Catholic Irish laity on Irish nationality. Remembrance of Ireland shifted in focus from an evocation of fond sentimentality to one of solemn duty. As Catholicism was increasingly claimed as the special preserve of the Irish, so too was Catholicism associated with St. Patrick and the symbolism of the shamrock:-

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[32] Leader, 19 March 1855.

> The emblem of his doctrine pure,
> In that fair isle alone is cherished;
> For other soil possesses not
> The sap by which the twig is nourished.[33]

The theme of unity and non-sectarian tolerance among Irishmen, nevertheless, survived the political and religious animosities of the 1850s. In an increasingly anti-Catholic atmosphere the Irish Catholic community wavered in its adherence to the Reform party. "I may be accused of wishing to compromise Reform," wrote 'Eire Oge' to the editor of the Mirror in 1851,

> but the Reform most desired in my humble judgement, would be the obliteration of all embittered feelings existing between the two great sections of ex-patriate countrymen....[34]

The Catholic Citizen took its masthead from the Tracts of Young Irelander John O'Leary:

> Let not religion, the sacred name of religion, which even in an enemy, discovers the face of a Brother, be any longer a wall of separation to keep us asunder.[35]

Cooperation was evident among Irish organisations in Canada West during the 1850s. A large number of St. Patrick's Societies sprang up in the Ottawa Valley. Although it was located in Canada East, a society in Alymer sought to enhance good understanding and effective coordination among societies in the province, through a convention of delegates from both sides of the Ottawa River.[36]

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[33] Irish Canadian, 22 March 1865, under the signature J.M.R. of Toronto.
[34] Mirror, Letter to the Editor from Eire Oge, London, Canada West, 7 Feb.1851.
[35] Catholic Citizen, 19 Feb.1857.

Supporters of unity publically proclaimed the achievements and virtues of the Irish in which all Irishmen could take pride. D'Arcy McGee extolled the genius of the Irish as it had been displayed in literature, law, politics and military action. In 1856, speaking on the Irish Brigade in the Service of France, he declared:

> I have chosen this object to demonstrate before you that our race may be as great in action as they are admittedly in speculation. Their presence of mind, their sustained vigour when disciplined, may be made quite equal to their natural gifts; the contrary opinion is all an invention of the enemy. It is the worst and subtlest of all the forms of Imperial injustice - this foul conspiracy against the genuine Irish Character.[37]

If the national character of the Irish had vindicated itself in the past, it could do so in the present. Irish self-laudation had a chauvinistic tone. "I do not think," declared William Halley at a St. Patrick's Day dinner in 1860, "I can be wrong in saying we are the most prolific, spreading, sensitive, hardworking and unselfish people in the world."[38]

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "The Irish Brigade in the Service of France," delivered at the Theatre Royal, Montreal, 24 November 1856, under the auspices of the St. Patrick's Society. 1825 - D'Arcy McGee - 1925. A Collection of Speeches and Addresses - Together with a Complete Report of the Centennial Celebration of the Birth of the Hon. Thomas D. McGee at Ottawa April 13 1825. ed. Charles Murphy (Toronto,1937),139. Although McGee's remarks were addressed to the Irish in Canada East, they had no less relevance for the Irish of Canada West.

[38] PAC, Library, 1816 [1860?] 13, William Halley, Speech

Irish organisations still struggled to overcome the dissension endemic among the Irish even when they had a common aim. A broadside entitled "Project of an Open Organisation, to be called 'The Irish Society of Canada'", was published prior to a conference which was to be held in London, Canada West in September 1861. The Society was to have district branches throughout the province. Although the objectives of the Society were to promote the interests of all Irishmen, it was stressed that:

> ... any man of any origin or creed may be a member, or officer of the society, provided he makes a public declaration or admission, that he is not a member of any secret, politico-religious society, Protestant or Catholic.[39]

During the 1860s the rhetoric of unity between Irishmen was expanded to include the entire Irish diaspora. At Christmas in 1863 the Canadian Freeman sent greetings to all the Irish beyond the waves:

> ... divided and separated though we be, by distance and place, there is an inseparable bond of union still linking us together, which has its origin in a common love and its end in a common hope.[40]

Such rhetoric was also used to applaud demonstrations of overt Irish political nationalism. The Irish Canadian, commenting on the 1865 St. Patrick's Day procession in Toronto, employed the language of the myth:

> The knowledge that these sons of Ireland were as one

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[38](cont'd) delivered at the Dinner of the St. Patrick's Society Toronto, on the 17th March, 1860, in response to the sentiment of the "Irish Race at Home and Abroad", by William Halley, published at the request of a number of friends.

[39] PAC, Library, 1861, 41, Project of an Open Organisation to be called "The Irish Society of Canada."

[40] Canadian Freeman, 24 Dec.1863.

> man in their love for the land of their birth, gave a feeling of unity and satisfaction to those who look forward to Ireland's redemption from her present lot.... Let us lay aside our private feuds, our own private grievances, and merge them in one common cause.[41]

Unity in this context was taken to mean political agreement among Irish Catholic nationalists in Canada West and solidarity with the Irish in Ireland.

The concept of a new Canadian nationality which would emerge from Confederation added impetus to the revived feeling that differences between the Irish should be put aside. This deliberate articulation of a Canadian national feeling provided an opportunity for the Irish to look to the future with optimism as they extolled the potential of the Irish in Canada. It was also an opportunity to assess the past and reveal the contribution which the Irish had made to the young nation. In 1858 Thomas D'Arcy McGee declared: "...the foremost Irishmen have been among the first people in the Judiciary, in politics, in commerce and in society.[42] In 1860 W. Halley urged:

> We have all come to this country to make our livelihood and build up a new nation.... But let us, fellow countrymen, take care now, that in after generations when its history comes to be written and its heroic ages described, that the Irish element of its population will be properly represented.[43]

Confederation was heralded as a new era for the Irish in Canada West; McGee declared in 1867:

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[41] Irish Canadian, 22 March 1865.

[42] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, The Irish Position in British and in Republican North America - A Letter to the Editors of the Irish Press Irrespective of Party (Montreal,1866),13.

[43] W. Halley, Speech delivered at the Dinner of the St. Patrick's Society, Toronto.

> For us, the Irish in Canada, there is at least this one public duty, clear beyond doubt, namely to show, both for the sake of our adopted and our native country, that it is possible, aye, that it is most natural that we should dwell together in peace as one people.[44]

McGee saw the "new nationality' as conducive to furthering unity among Irishmen.

Nicholas Flood Davin's The Irishman in Canada, published in 1877, was a product of this thinking. He stated, as one of his objectives, a wish to "sweep aside misconceptions, to explode cherished fallacies, to point out the truth, and so raise the self-respect of every person of Irish blood in Canada."[45] Davin emphasised the positive aspect of the Irish in Old Ontario, their achievements and contributions in a new land. He extolled above all the intellect and geniality of the Irish. Davin interspersed Protestant and Catholic personalities; little mention was made of animosity or violence between the two groups. The unity of Irishmen was implicit.

By the 1870s, then, the Irish in Old Ontario believed that they had become Canadians. As George J. Hodgins, president of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Toronto, declared in 1875:

> We as Irishmen, while devotedly attached to our own nativeland are no less loyal to the land of our adoption. We have given expression to this spirit of entire unity with Canada ... With our "green

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[44] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Irish National Standing or Reputation," Address to the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society in the City Concert Hall, Montreal, January 3rd 1867, 1825 - D'Arcy McGee - 1925, 143.
[45] N.F. Davin, The Irishman in Canada (London,1877),4.

> immortal shamrock" we have lovingly entwined the beautifully tinted "Maple Leaf" of Canada.[46]

In summing up the prospects for unity among Irishmen, however, Hodgins was less effusive:

> In the largest sense, union among Irishmen, means of course, the blending together, for a common object, of the two great divisions of our Protestant and Roman Catholic fellow countrymen. But, so wide as the divergence between these two sectors of our countrymen, and so mutually strong are the conscientious convictions of both parties in maintaining the principles which have so long kept them apart, that they must, I fear, ever prove an insurmountable barrier of separation between them.... Not that this chronic state of denominational separation is incompatible with warm personal friendship for individuals, or of active cooperation together for business and other objects.[47]

His analysis was pertinent, an accurate assessment of the state of Irish unity. The depth of the divisions between the Irish, and the ease with which they surfaced, indicated that it was indeed a fragile union.

The Irish in Canada, nevertheless, continued to draw on the theme of Irish unity and the common interest of Irishmen. The liberal tradition of the Anglo-Irish, its symbolism ~~and rhetoric~~, was an element of Irish ~~political~~ nationalism shared by Irish liberal Protestants and Irish Catholics in Canada. Irish Catholics continued to identify with the Irish liberal tradition and its leadership as serving their interests. In 1872 a pamphlet published as part of the Liberal Party's electoral campaign, called on

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[46] PAC, Library, 1 - 4011, *Irishmen in Canada. Their Union Not Inconsistent with the Development of Canadian National Feeling,* by J.G.H., President of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Toronto (Toronto,1875),24.

[47] Ibid.,5.

Irish Catholics to rally to the Liberal banner under the leadership of Edward Blake.[48] Blake, the pamphlet declared,

> is one of our own race - one of our own blood ... one, too, who shall yet occupy a place beside Burke and Sheridan, Grattan and O'Connell, Shiel and O'Brien. These who basely insinuate that because of his religion he is not worthy of the confidence of Irish Catholics, know they are vilely slandering our people. Was not Wolfe Tone a Protestant?... Are not Butt and Martin Protestants?... Mr. Blake worships at the same shrine of liberal ideas....[49]

The threads of Irish history were woven into a new tapestry; it revealed a mythology which characterised the identity of the Irish in Canada.

The myth of Irish unity then, ran parallel to the differences evident among Irishmen. Unity was a vision, an ideal to heal the wounds which had been inflicted in Ireland and reopened in Old Ontario. Irish patriotism was to be a balm, a shared sentiment in displaying the positive side of the Irish national character. St. Patrick's Day, as the universal Irish national festival, became the focal occasion of Irish unity. Reality, however, overrode the myth. The Patrican Irish national festival became the preserve of

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[48] Edward Blake (1833-1912) was the eldest sone of William Hume Blake, a prominent Anglo-Irish Reformer in the 1840s. Edward Blake became the leader of the Liberal opposition in 1869 and Premier of Ontario in 1871. In 1890 he withdrew from Canadian politics and became involved in the Home Rule movement in Ireland. In 1892 he was elected to the British House of Commons for South Longford. Blake's involvement with the Irish Home Rule movement, although an anomaly, is an interesting result of the transfer of an Anglo-Irish tradition to Canada. D.C. Lyne has characterised Blake as "a political throwback." D.C. Lyne, "The Irish in the Province of Canada in the Decade Leading to Confederation.' MA thesis, McGill University, 1960,374.

[49] J.L.P. O'Hanley, The Political Standing of Irish Catholics in Canada. A Critical Analysis of Its Causes, with Suggestions for Its Amelioration (Ottawa,1872),56.

Irish Catholics and liberal Irish Protestants; Orange Irish Protestants increasingly conveyed less affinity for St. Patrick than they did for King Billy. The Irish Apostle and his symbol of peace, the shamrock, had failed to effect Irish unity in Canada West. Therefore, as Confederation approached, the Irish began to embrace a Canadian nationality as the solution to this problem. Dissensions and disunity, it was argued, had no place among Irishmen who were now Canadians. The values of the Irish liberal tradition, tolerance and reason, were stressed as the basis of unity between Irishmen of differing creeds in the land of their adoption. An obituary for the Catholic Warden of Victoria lauded his consistency of conduct, the mark of a noble and generous mind: "Mr. McHugh was in the real sense of the word a true and genuine Irishman...."[50]

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[50] Canadian Freeman, 31 Dec. 1863.

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